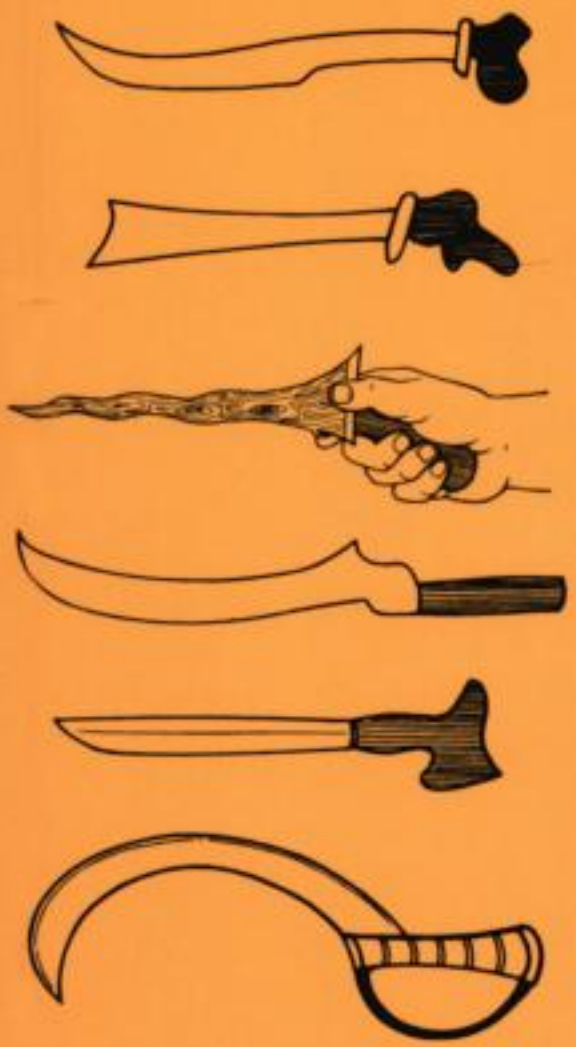

THE WEAPONS & FIGHTING ARTS OF INDONESIA

Donn F. Draeger

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WEAPONS and FIGHTING ARTS of INDONESIA

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

No Asian nation has come before the world devoid of combative skills. The present-day limitative study which has produced a combative horizon extending to only China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, is an oversight attitude both from the historical and technical standpoints. Weapons and fighting arts have been a legitimate and prominent part of all Asian cultures. The interrelationships among the combative cultures of all Asian nations are significant to a fuller comprehension of Asian history.

In Indonesia, weapons and fighting arts are as old as the history of man. There are yet too many wide gaps between historically proven facts and time to completely understand the meanings of the combative culture of this vast and diverse land, the world's largest archipelago. But it is possible to piece together significant shreds of evidence by which the ancestral forms of the modern weapons and fighting arts can be related to the modern scene.

For Indonesians, weapons and fighting arts are life itself. The external importance can readily be seen to be practical, but it is the inner meanings, the spiritual relationships, which are most closely tied to the cultural achievements of the nation. Indonesian combatives are vitally linked to cultural attainments and are a bridge over which the past can be connected to the present.

Expressions of Indonesian society such as music, dance forms, art; social customs such as marriage, death honors, circumcision, and tribal law, all are innately involved with weapons. There can be no thorough understanding of Indonesia without

a substantial investigation of its combatives. Many of the results of the investigations which produced the material for this book are not to be considered as conclusions, rather as a series of facts and observations which should serve to draw more attention to this little-known aspect of Indonesian culture.

What is contained herein is based on firsthand investigations. Three separate expeditions into the country have been made to gather facts about Indonesian combative culture. Some practical experience with the weapons and their means of employment has also preceded the writing. The general inaccessibility of the remote areas visited in gathering the necessary information has been a serious deterrent to a more comprehensive survey of this nation. The politico-military situation in Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo) and Irian Barat (West New Guinea) has precluded investigations in those areas. Additionally, the wide latitude of weapons and fighting arts studied has required a preliminary backgrounding in history, art, anthropology, and geography which must be understood to a certain degree before meaningful interpretations could be made. Thus, more geographical areas remain to be visited and an even still wider range of fighting arts must be studied. It is hoped that this introductory survey will interest others to enlarge upon it and broaden its significance.

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Sanur, Bali

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WEAPONS and FIGHTING ARTS of INDONESIA

Chapter 1

PRELIMINARY BACKGROUND

They were servants;
they fought each other.
They were equal in valor;
both became corpses.

—ADJI SAKA

■ Protohistoric and Historic

Java is the cultural core of the world's largest archipelago, Indonesia. Very little is accurately known of its ancient history and even its legends antedate the first century A.D. Thus, history, for most Indonesian scholars,[1] begins with the introduction of the Hindu culture to their lands by Adji Saka.

Adji Saka, a Brahman teacher, came from India to deliver the Javanese from the cannibalistic King Mendang Kamulan, whose daily habit it was to feast on one of his subjects chosen at random. Adji Saka rid the country of the monstrous ruler; the grateful Javanese urged him to stay and rule as king. Adji accepted, but first had to obtain his holy sword which he had left back in India in the safekeeping of a trusted retainer.

Adji dispatched another retainer to fetch the wonderful sword, but in a quarrel between the two retainers over the matter of releasing the sword, both were slain. The retainer holding the holy blade had been ordered by Adji not to deliver it to anyone but his master; the retainer sent to bring the sword to Adji would not, in shame, return to his master in Java without the sword.

Adji Saka is a symbol of cultural advancement in terms of Hindu standards.[2] But long before the Hindu culture arrived in Indonesia the prehistoric peoples living in the archipelago had reached varying de-

1. Learned scholars such as Doctors Amir Sutagara and Soeksmono see Indonesian history beginning in the fifth to sixth centuries A.D.

2. Adji Saka is legend. His struggles with the cannibal king are possibly indicative of initial resistance of the people to Hindu culture. As history shows, Hindu culture won the people over, and today's Indonesian is immensely proud of that heritage.

grees of vital civilization. Some of the world's oldest human remains have been identified on the island of Java.

During the Palaeolithic period (pre-15000 B.C.), primitive men, such as those now identified as the *Pithecanthropus erectus*,[3] were little more advanced than the anthropoid ape. The manner of combat of such primitives must have largely depended on empty-handed fighting tactics augmented by such natural objects as sticks and stones. More highly developed Pleistocene men, such as evidenced by the "Ngandong skulls" and the "Wadjak skulls," too, have been found by archaeologic efforts. All of these early settlers in Indonesia employed instruments, such as "hand-axes," which were made of unpolished stone and slightly tapered at one end (by chipping against another stone) to provide a handgrip. These crude instruments were probably used without handles or hafting to serve as both tools and weapons.

Between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods (15000–3000 B.C.), in the so-called Mesolithic, or transitory period, primitive inhabitants learned to fashion stone implements, sometimes actually sharpening them. Most of the stone implements of this period are ground and polished.[4]

Asian continental influences stemming from Indochina, Annam, Laos, and possibly upper Burma and as far as India, arrived about the Neolithic time. The bronze culture of the Dong-s'on followed and prospered centuries before Hindu influences were felt. Tongking and neighboring areas perhaps were also special contributors; it is probable that they gave the use of iron and attendant metallurgical skills to the primitive Indonesians.

David Sopher has shown that the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago, which nestles in the straits between mainland Asia (Malay Peninsula) and the northeastern coast of Sumatra, was a collection point for forest primitives, river-bank dwellers, and strand collectors; the latter group differentiating from the former two, taking to small boats and gathering great mobility.[5] Later, with the southward movement of Mongoloid proto-Malays, great mixing of strand folk and the newly arrived immigrants took place, especially in Sumatra. The Riouw-Lingga Archipelago's importance to Indonesian combatives is of the highest order.

The contribution of the so-called sea-nomads, the racially heterogeneous, wandering maritime primitives, to the combative culture of Indonesia is indefinable. These nomads, with their great mobility, had at one time or another come in contact with many different cultures: Chinese, Burmese, Thai, Malay, Bugis, Madurese, Dayak, Sulu, Semang, Sakai, Toradja, Alefuru, Moluccan, and still others. Their wanderings were distinct from the movements of the coastal Malays who

3. Such remains were found in the Solo Valley near the village of Trinil in Central Java.

4. Specimens are to be seen in the Djakarta and Palembang museums.

5. *The Sea Nomads* (Singapore National Museum, 1965).

also undertook great dispersions. The area in which the sea-nomads plied their crafts extends for more than two thousand miles in a west-east direction, from Tenasserim to the Moluccas; it also extends some sixteen hundred miles in a south-north direction from the northern shores of the Lesser Sunda Islands to well into the Philippine area. Driven on by natural wanderlust, the unfriendliness of overpopulated areas, and even hostilities, winds, and currents equally unfriendly, the sea-nomads spread all over the Indonesian Archipelago.

It is generally accepted that the earliest waves of pre-Neolithic sea-borne migrations from southeastern Asia to the Indonesian Archipelago occurred some four or five thousand years ago. Here, too, population pressures in China and possibly cultism were the causes for these massive migrations. Whole communities were thus transferred to Indonesia. They brought weapons with them for self-defense against both men and animals. It is also probable that they exercised some degree of systemization over these weapons as incorporated into fighting arts.

In the seaports of southeastern China are large communities of boat dwellers. Some, like the Tan Chia (also Tan-kia, Tanka, Tonka, Dung China), are non-Chinese and their origins are questionable.[6] But their relationships to the culturally superior Yueh of southeastern areas of pre-Han China are proven. The Yueh too were boat dwellers, or "water people," but were also, according to Chi Li,[7] valley dwellers. Carl W. Bishop notes characteristics in the society of these people to include irrigated rice cultivation (after 1000 B.C.), long-boat culture, headhunting, war fleets, tattooing, and familiarity with plant poisons;[8] bladed weapons were still other attributes, all affecting the combative culture they possessed. These same features are positively identified among the immigrants who migrated into the archipelago in the third or second millennium B.C.

Several migrations at different periods took place after the use of bronze was introduced into Yueh from northern China through middle Yangtze lands. The Yueh in turn introduced this technology and the cult of bronze drums into Tongking and North Vietnam (Dong-s'on culture *c.* 500 B.C.), from where it diffused into parts of Indonesia. It is fact that the Dong-s'on daggers are found in Indonesia; recently one was discovered on Flores. Some authorities insist that the famed Maja-

6. Native annalists give the origin of the Tan Chia to the Ch'in dynasty (221–206 B.C.). A man who had served as a general in a Chinese army formed a stronghold on Hainan Island and led successful resistance to would-be conquerors of Canton. After his death, his followers were forced to flee, taking to boats and becoming a "pariah class," persecuted and "not being considered worthy to reside on shore." T'ang China continued the persecution of the Tan Chia and Ming and drafted able-bodied men into military service. Only with the advent of the Manchus were the Tan Chia treated with some tolerance.

7. *The Formation of the Chinese People* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928).

8. "Long-Houses and Dragon-Boats," *Antiquity*, 12 (1938).

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pahit *kris* is patterned after a Dong-s'on dagger design.[9] The matter is still further complicated by the fact that the bronze-socketed axes found all over Indonesia, as well as most of the primitive spearheads, are indicative of European influence.

Another factor important to the combative accumulation of weapons and fighting arts was that dreaded scourge of the seas—pirates. Like the Pathan mountaineers who "farmed the road" between Kabul and Peshawar, or the *wo-k'ou* who "farmed the sea" between continental Asia and Japan, piracy has legitimate roots. The Sea Dayaks of Borneo who headhunted for the sheer joy of taking heads were often pirates; the Celates, the most widely known and feared for piratical activities and who for Portuguese Fernao (Fernand) Mendez Pinto (1550) were ". . . robbers who . . . fight with blowpipes using poison [*pelejao com zaravatanas de peconha*] and are the most treacherous people in the world,"[10] were fearless fighters with an arsenal of weapons. But too often, for political, religious, or still other reasons, the nomadic boat dwellers were given an undeserved reputation as pirates.

Arab and Chinese accounts dated before A.D. 1500 tell of piratical peoples. Fa Hsien described those who lurked and plundered in an area between Sumatra and Singapore (W. P. Groeneveldt identifies the area as the Lingga Straits; V. Obdeijn, as the Durian Straits of the Riouw Archipelago). According to Groeneveldt, "They live chiefly from piracy, and when they see native vessels, they go out with many hundreds of small boats to attack them . . . they are plundered and the crew killed. Therefore ships are very careful in this neighborhood."[11]

Chao Ju-kua, writing in the mid-thirteenth century (*Chu-fan-chi*), recorded the people of Palembang-Srivijaya (San-fo-t'si) as pirates. Then using the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* (*c.* 1120) as an authority, he wrote of people in a country called Sha-hua-kung who plundered on the high seas and of savages on isles near Fo called Ma-lo-nu who capture traders, " . . . roast them over a fire with a large bamboo pinchers and eat them"; this latter group, he reported, "use human skulls for vessels for drinking and eating." There is no consensus about the geographical region of these people, but it may well have been Sumatra or Java.[12]

Whatever can be attributed to continental Asian influence on the combative culture of Indonesia must take into account the technical

9. The Dong-s'on dagger is similar to the weapon designs of Holstein and Denmark of the Scandinavian bronze age (fifth period).

10. *The Voyages and Adventures of Fernand Mendez Pinto, a Portuguese* (translated into English by H. C. Gent. [3rd Ed.] London, 1692).

11. *Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya Compiled from Chinese Sources* (Djakarta, 1960).

12. V. Obdeijn quotes Pelliot as identifying Sha-hua-kung as Java. David Sopher offers Hirth and Rockhill's interpretation of Fo as Fo-shi, the T'ang name for East Sumatra.

influence of three major high-culture countries. The first of these, and the senior one in Indonesia, is that of China.[13] Early Han-dynasty influences can be seen in Dayak, Batak, and Toradja cultures. Chinese ceramics dating from the first to sixth centuries of the Christian era, as well as later products from the seventh to tenth centuries, are found in abundance on Java and Sumatra. Images of warriors mounted on full-bodied buffaloes have been found at Pematang, Sumatra, and in the Pegeraham area too. These images have Chinese-style trappings and weapons. At Batagadjah is still another image of a warrior mounted on an elephant; he too is armed with a Chinese weapon, the double-edged sword.[14] The broad swords of Sumatra take some of their design characteristics from these early patterns.

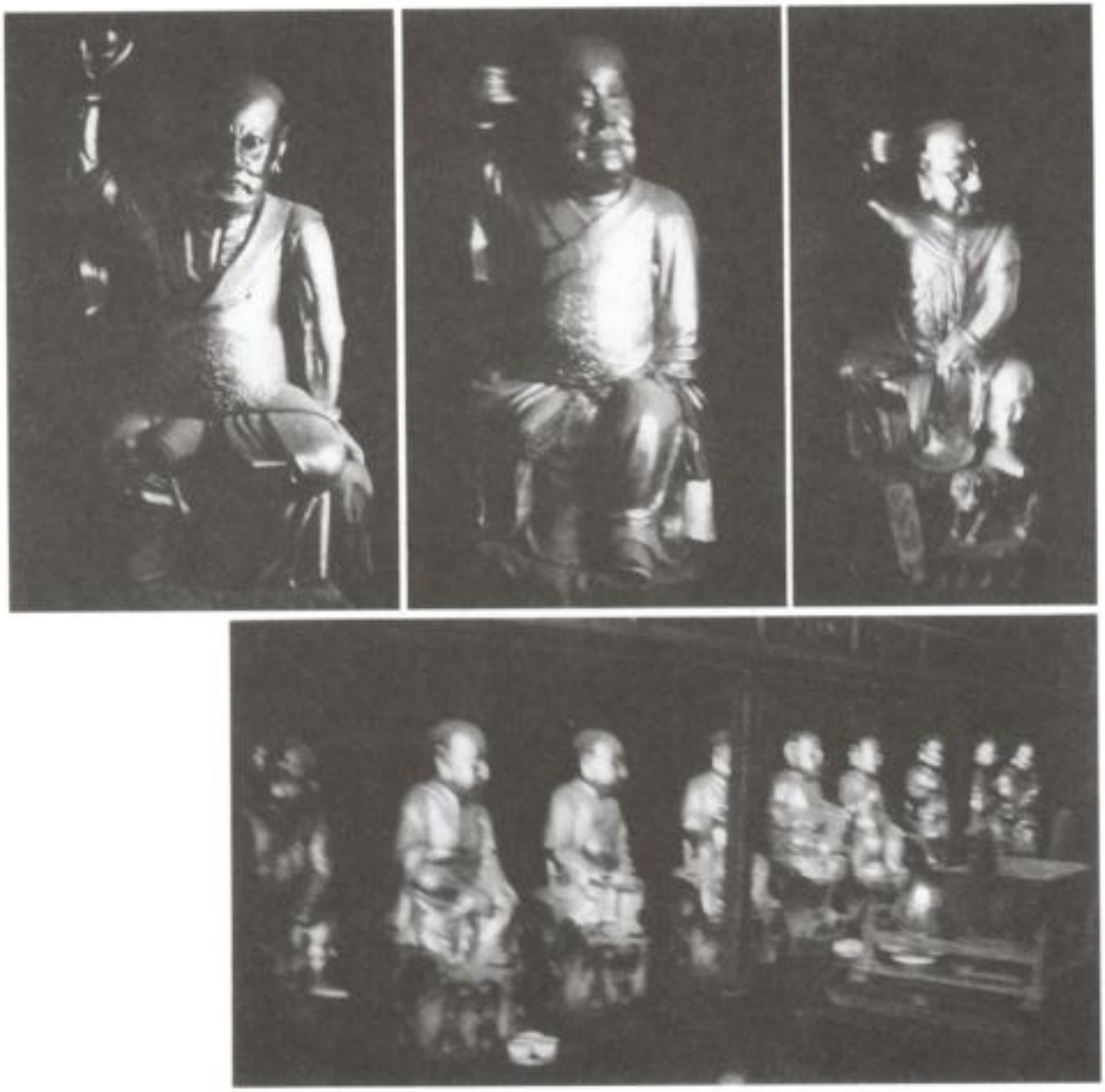
In Chinese temples, such as the one in the Pakojan area of Semarang, northern Central Java, can be seen images displaying combative meanings. The Semarang Temple images are not generally open to public viewing, but the fortunate few who are permitted to see them will witness art of rare excellence. Known as the Supalokun, eighteen images sit impassively in recesses along two facing walls of the inner prayer chamber of the temple, which is almost devoid of light; the only illumination comes from tapers that are kept lighted twenty-four hours a day. Nine images face another nine across the chamber. Each has varied combative significance in the *mudra*-form positioning of its arms and hands. The poses depicted by these *mudra* all have combative roots, and are not the benign gestures they appear to be to the untutored eye. Thus the greatly varied hand actions of southern Chinese combative forms are epitomized by the eighteen Supalokun images, of which Figure 1 shows various poses of twelve.

Care must be taken not to make unqualified interpretations based on the appearance of the first Chinese or their culture in Indonesia. Chinese weapons and fighting arts may have made their debut in Indonesia at that time, but it cannot be proved. Moreover, due to the traditional secrecy surrounding Chinese fighting arts, it is highly probable that technical knowledge of and practical skill with them were restricted to the Chinese. It is also equally probable that no deliberate sustained effort was made to promulgate Chinese-style fighting arts among the natives. Until specific and factual historic evidence can be uncovered showing that China is the taproot of Indonesian combative culture, all that can be accurately said is that Chinese fighting arts had an unknown effect on the early formation of Indonesian combative measures.

Later Chinese influences, however, can more readily be identified.

13. Included here of course would be the Chinese rub-off effect on the cultures of Indochina, Annam, Laos, and in general, the southeastern area of the Asian continent, even the Malay Peninsula.

14. Van Heekeren notes that ". . . double-edged swords are unknown in China and Indonesia until introduced from the west." (*The Bronze Age of Indonesia*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1958).



1. Four views showing various poses of twelve of the eighteen Supalokun images at Semarang Temple, Central Java.

The weapons and combative systems of Java and Bali show a large number of design ideas transferred from Chinese sources. Spearheads, such as on display at the Sono Boedojo Sekaten Museum in Jogjakarta, and those at the Denpasar Museum as well, clearly illustrate this. While metal casting is often reported to have been imported to Java and spread by Chinese and Indochinese influences, it is to be noted that Van Heekeren (*Bronze Age*) finds an indigenous application:

> During the Japanese occupation W. Rothpletz found on the plateau of Bandung in Java a large number of fragments of clay moulds for axes, spearheads . . . which prove that in proto-

historic times such objects were actually manufactured in the locality and were not imported from abroad as is often believed.

Stone slabs used to cast sword blades have been found on Java to support the thesis. Both *cire perdue* and direct casting methods were doubtless involved in the making of weapons.

Then too the weapons distributed throughout the Lesser Sundas and again those on Borneo, Celebes, Moluccas, and related islets can be shown to have some Chinese influence. Flores combatives could easily have a Chinese influence which would begin to bridge the cultural gap that exists between the whip-fighting styles of today and their origins. Van Heekeren writes: "Ngada in Flores date back to the Late Chou style of China," and thus suggests a positive cultural exchange or transfer from the Asian continent to this remote island.

The second great high-culture country which brought great forces to bear on Indonesia is India, with its things Hindu. Srividjaya, Mataram, Majapahit, and New Mataram are names that evoke historical evidence to show that Hindu culture is the taproot for Javanese legends, customs, arts, ceremonies, weapons, and fighting arts. The first named, Srividjaya, was the Palembang-based great empire that commanded the sea routes between India and China. There is little authentic evidence to support the idea that it existed prior to A.D. 670.

The original inhabitants of Sumatra, as well as later travelers to and from the island (see Chapter 3, p. 109)), made good use of the Riouw Archipelago as a land bridge between the Malay Peninsula and this insular area. Multidirectional migratory flows converged on the Riouw area and made it a convenient and important collection point for weapon and combative ideas. Influences there were especially strong from India, Indochina, and China. Many Indonesian combat authorities feel that Indonesian-styled combatives began on Riouw.[15] These combatives later served as the basis of what came to be called *pentjak-silat*. The old Riouw combatives are today termed *silat* Melayu, and it is known that they were in use as early as the sixth century A.D. They were crude forms; their germ ideas, however, were carried to the Menangkabau kingdom at Priangan, its ancient capital, and also to the Srividjaya empire centered at Palembang. In the former area, *silat* Melayu underwent great diversification and formed what is today traditionally recognized as the source of Indonesian *pentjak-silat*.

The Hindu-flavored but Indonesian-built monuments of Central Java, the Borobudur, and the Prambanan temple complex, stand as gigantic works of ancient civilizations. Their murals and imagery show the weaponry of those early times. Swords, bows and arrows, spears, shields, armor, clubs, knives, and halberds can be seen in the artwork of these structures; even a wrestling form is identified (Fig. 2).

15. H. Hubudin, Madura's top combative arts authority, holds such an opinion.

2. Relief figures from Borobudur and Prambanan, showing ancient combative weapons and techniques (7 views).

The Borobudur is situated in the Kedu region, north of Jogjakarta, lying on the west side of the confluence of the Praga and Elo rivers.[16] The Borobudur is a stupa,[17] whose very name is derived from the Sanskrit word *bihara* (*wihara*), rendered *boro* in Indonesian, meaning "monastery," and the Indonesian word *budur*, meaning "hill." Borobudur is thus "monastery on a hill." No known inscription gives precise information about its founding date, but from the old Javanese script writing discovered at its footing,[18] it is thought to have been constructed during the period of the Çailendra-dynasty rule over Java (A.D. 732–900) in possibly about 850. The Çailendra kings, "kings of the mountain" (from *caila* meaning "mountain" and *indra*, "king"), were the protectors of Buddhism.

The Prambanan temple complex, also known as the Loro Djonggrang group,[19] is the royal mausoleum of some ancient civilization. The structure is the largest composite temple group in Indonesia and is situated at Prambanan, east of Jogjakarta. The name is said to have derived from the word *brahmana*, which was corrupted to *brambaban* and later to what it is today. Yet a stone inscription dated in the ninth century reveals that the name Prambanan had been derived from the tax-free Paramwan village, which was charged with care-taking responsibilities of the temples.

The Prambanan temple complex was not built by any one person's direction, but by various kings of Mataram in the second half of the ninth century. It is the greatest Saivite monument and is situated amidst Buddhist structures, such as the compound group Sewu-Bubrah-Lumbung, the Plaosan temples, the Sadjiwan Temple, the Kalasan, and the Sari. The founder of the Prambanan was probably the first Saivite king after the Buddhist period (732–928); his successors were all devout Buddhists.

The Prambanan temples are dedicated to the four-armed Civa (Siva), the Supreme God also known as "The Destroyer." The main temples are the Civa in the center, the Brahma, or "The Creator," in the south, and the Vishnu, or "The Preserver," in the north; together they form the Trimurti, or "Trinity." The Civa Temple main chamber houses Civa as the main diety (*mahadewa*). At the back of Civa and on his right,

16. The location was deliberately chosen to harmonize with the holiness of the site called Prayaga in India, located at the confluence of the Ganggä and Yamuna rivers. The Indonesian river named Praga is taken from the Indian word Prayaga.

17. A burial place for the ashes of Gautama Buddha recognized by its characteristic *harmika* (stonebox) and *catra* (umbrella) structures, usually a hemispheric dome.

18. Derived from the so-called Pallawa script, of southern Indian origin, this early form of writing gives valuable clues to the founding date.

19. From the legend of Loro Djonggrang, the Slender Virgin, in which the daughter of the giant king of Prambanan is turned to stone by her enraged suitor whom she had tricked.

sands a huge trident weapon. The reliefs depicting the Ramayana story inside the balustrade of the terrace of the lower wall of the Civa Temple are filled with important weaponry of the times and afford valuable combative information.[20]

The Brahma Temple is decorated with a continuation of the Ramayana reliefs to complete the story told first in the Civa reliefs. The Vishnu Temple has encased reliefs in the low balustrade depicting the Krishnayana story.[21] The main image of Vishnu has four arms; the right forehand is seen resting on a club. In the other temples still more combative information is to be found. The Plaosan temple group, some three miles from Prambanan, has an external ring wall that possesses two gates. Sitting before each gate are two big stone-carved giants. They are known as *dwarapala,* the Sanskrit word for "gate guards." The Sewu, or "Thousand Temples," structure symbolizes Buddhism. Eight *dwarapala,* kneeling on one knee, each over eight feet tall, stand guard, two at each gate, their obviously formidable bulk reinforced with clubs held in the right hands, and also armed with swords.

In Central Java, the *tjandi,*[22] such as the Borobudur and the Prambanan temple complex, are replete with combative lore in the form of artwork. Unfortunately, the investigations which have been carried out concerning the interpretations of these art treasures have not included the combative aspect. This work has yet to be accomplished, but when it is it will certainly reveal an insight about weapons and their possible employments for this period of Indonesian history.

The name of Mataram appears recorded first in A.D. 898. Whether it corresponds to the semilegendary kingdom of Mendang Kamulan is not known. It is often suggested that the Çailendra displaced the Hindu kingdom near Prambanan in the mid-eighth century. Its power extended into continental Asia, specifically Cambodia and the Malay Peninsula, and over Srividjaya in Sumatra. Perhaps when the Çailendra transferred its seat of power to Sumatra, the exiled Saivites returned to East Java to establish the kingdom of Mataram and to build their

20. The Indian epic in which hero Rama, Vishnu reincarnated, defeats the wicked king Ravana who disturbs the world. This tale was perhaps first recorded in writing by the poet Valmiki in the third century B.C. As the story of the conflict of good and evil and the eventual triumph of good, it is well known all over Indonesia where Hindu culture has penetrated.

21. Krishna, another incarnation of Vishnu, is the hero of another epic entailing romantic exploits. Together with his brother, Balarâma, his heroic deeds lay the basis for this less well-known story which is comparatively rare in Javanese literature and sculpture.

22. A word derived from Sanskrit Chandigriha, "House of the Goddess of Death." It is commonly applied to all ancient monuments irrespective of their purpose or religious origin. Outwardly they do not differ from temples serving for regular worship of Hindu dieties; Javanese *tjandi* are dedicated to the cult of the dead. Hinduistic religion, cosmology, and theism have been adapted to aboriginal cult worship of Indonesia and perpetuated by these monuments.

great monuments on the Prambanan plain. Mataram's function must have been great, but Hindu influence reached its apogee under the Majapahit ruler Gadjah Mada in the fourteenth century.

The famed King Kertonegoro of Singosari, a martially minded and able warrior-leader, not only conquered the islands neighboring Java but had also challenged the mighty empire of Srividjaya and even the great Khubla Khan. Outraged, the Khan dispatched a punitive expedition to chastise the upstart king, but during a rebellion by a vassal in Kediri, King Kertonegoro was killed before the Chinese task force arrived. Raden Widjoyo, the king's son-in-law, took up the reins of leadership, taking temporary refuge in the wilds of Brantas. Conferring with his most-trusted men under a huge *madja* tree, Widjoyo chose the name Majapahit, "bitter fruit," for his refugee government.

Widjoyo, allied with the Chinese punitive expedition, defeated the Kediri forces and then treacherously fell upon the Chinese and chased them back to their own country. Whether the victory was due to superiority of weapons and technical employment or the sheer weight of numbers is not known but it did little to show the technical soundness of Mongol fighting arts.

After the death of Widjoyo, Gadjah Mada rose from the royal guards to a position of power and consolidated the Majapahit holdings. Bali, Srividjaya in Sumatra, the Celebes, Moluccas, and part of Borneo were all under the influence of the Majapahit. Only the recalcitrant Padjadjaran in West Java was militarily strong enough to withstand the Majapahit.

Pentjak-silat, while perhaps still a crude combat form in the eleventh century, was by the fourteenth century polished and the technical property of the nobility—the Majapahit sultans and their court officials. Commoners were excluded from learning its tactics.

After the death of Hayam Wuruk, the "Young Cock," in 1389, who as king had continued the Majapahit fortunes, the empire, weakened by intrigues and civil wars, fell apart. Raden Patah, one of the Eight Apostles of Islam, led his men against Browidjoyo V and destroyed the Hindu capital and king in 1478. Traditionally this date represents the fall of the Majapahit, but it does not mean that Hindu culture was completely discarded and replaced by an aggressive newcomer, Islam. Islam, blade in hand, had administered the *coup de grâce* to the tottering Majapahit, but Hindu culture lived on, in a retreat across the straits called Bali, where Islam was not welcome. The ferocious combative imagery erected there reflects these feelings.

Islam, and Muslim weapons, came to Indonesia in abundance prior to the fall of the Majapahit. Marco Polo had visited the Atjeh (Sumatra) region in 1292 and reported Muslims living there, and there is some evidence to support the claim for Muslim residence in the eleventh century. But in a combative sense it is the Muslim conflict with the Hindu culture that gives the greatest contributions.

Demak, in north-central Java, was the powerful early Muslim stronghold established by the aggressive Raden Patah. Raden's warlike son continued the stronghold's grip on the Javanese, and by the early sixteenth century Demak was the leading power. Sultan Trenggana, the first prince of Java to be awarded his title by Mecca, was the second son of Raden. He was determined to eradicate the remaining Hindu resistance in Balambangan at the tip of eastern Java. His plans were, however, never fulfilled because of his own assassination, which brought further confusion and an eventual power struggle for ascendency, resulting in the downfall of Demak. Mataram, Hindu centered, then established its supremacy once again.

The Dutch arrived in Indonesia in the seventeenth century. They were aggressive from the start, seeking to control the trade of the Spice Islands (the Moluccas). They brought in substantial military might, built forts, and did not hesitate to use their guns. They drove out the Portuguese and later the English to make it quite clear that no others were welcome in Indonesia. Until 1799 Indonesia was ruled by the United East India Company, thereafter (except for a brief period of British control during the Napoleonic wars) rule was administered by the Netherlands government.

The Indonesians sought to free themselves from the yoke of suppression. Revolts, uprisings, and underground activities were frequent. All were suppressed by Dutch military might.[23] In the nineteenth century the Dutch brought in hundreds of thousands of Chinese merchants to aid the economic "farming" of Indonesia. With these Chinese came a great variety of *kuntao* methods, a specific conglomeration of fighting arts.[24]

The twentieth century brought with it a nationalist movement, and by 1927, Indonesians had formulated the National Party; other associated groups also formed. All were tuned toward breaking the Dutch hold, and the Dutch reacted by exiling all political leaders to the malaria infested swamps of West New Guinea or to other equally undesirable places. The struggle between the Indonesian desire for freedom and the Dutch stubbornness favoring colonization continued with an important boost to weapons and fighting arts, especially in the area of *pentjak-silat*.

World War II brought the Japanese to Indonesia in 1942. In the face of this threat the Dutch surrendered unconditionally. The Japanese military overlords proved more severe than did the Dutch. All political

23. The combative arts of Indonesia, especially *pentjak-silat*, were as yet unsuited for the task of neutralizing Dutch military might.

24. It is this coming of the Chinese which has prejudiced Indonesian-Chinese relations, for the Chinese took over approximately 20 percent of the national income, the Dutch retaining about 60 percent. These Chinese gave *kuntao* a big boost but were perhaps not the pioneers for *kuntao* in Indonesia.

parties went underground and practically all fighting arts and weapons suffered attenuation of employment. The Japanese defeat in 1945 brought the efforts for freedom of Indonesians to final realization. Their efforts began with education. Military training was an important kind of education; Japanese methods were adapted. The English arrived in Indonesia but did not bother the national government. However, with the rearrival of the Dutch, the British were forced out by late 1946, and Dutch military power was re-established in Indonesia. The ill-equipped Indonesian military forces were forced to flee to remote areas to fight an underground war.

In the years to follow, up until the unconditional transfer of complete sovereignty to Indonesia by the Dutch in 1949 (sans West New Guinea until 1962), it was the underground military movement, the anti-Dutch emotions, which brought great development to the fighting arts and weapons of Indonesia. The Dutch found that they could militarily take over cities and towns and hold them, but they were completely unable to control the villages and the main network of roads connecting the various villages. It was the Dutch holdings, the nonmilitary enterprises, which suffered most. Guerrilla action by the natives against Dutch plantations, in a "scorched-earth" policy, soon proved to be effective; irate Dutch owners pressured their own government to cease military operations.

Pentjak-silat received its greatest technical boost during this period, and major styles gave impetus to the proliferation of newer and more functional interpretations. By and large, the old weapons of *pentjak-silat* remained unchanged, but took on highly diverse applications for hand-to-hand combat under conditions of the modern age. The majority of *pentjak-silat* systems were understandably platformed on a nationalistic foundation and became an expression of the drive for independence, so long overdue.

■ Technical Rationale

Indonesian fighting arts and weapons have an almost exclusive orientation toward practicability in both technical design and employment. This was made so by the necessities imposed upon Indonesia in the development of her national character. By solving her own internal problems through the process of experience, both fortunes and misfortunes, Indonesia has made and continues to make essential contributions to the combative culture of the world. Several important factors are involved.

First is the Indonesian virtue of syncretism.[25] Their ability to adopt,

25. Indonesians have a remarkable ability to syncretize. Any nation such as theirs which can manage to superimpose three foreign high-cultures on their own aboriginal one and can develop one that is acceptable as nationally different and satisfactory to all is indeed virtuous.

adapt, and infuse national ideas with elements of foreign culture has enabled them to compound weapons and fighting arts that are among the most interesting in the world. Borrowing from the three high-culture civilizations and then building upon their own, Indonesians "took and made" a full range of fighting arts that span all methods from empty-hand through blade, stick and staff, composite, and projectile weapons.

Second, Indonesian syncretism bears out the truism that in this world there cannot be anything absolutely unique in the experience of any race. Peculiarities may exist which at first blush give the superficial appearance of being unique, but upon closer scrutiny they will always be found to be chiefly a matter of selection and emphasis, not differences in specific humanity. By selection and emphasis of foreign elements, Indonesian weapons and fighting arts stand in the main as synthesis products of native endeavor. But this is not the whole story. Indonesians have been very autogenic and have produced indigenous weapons and combative systems while, on the other hand, they have been receptive to transplanting "pure style" weapons and systems.

Indonesian fighting arts and the weapons that articulate them can be brought into three major combative categories: (1) *kuntao,* (2) *pentjak-silat,* and (3) endemic forms. The first two are distinguished by the fact that they are relatively standardized, formalized, and crystallized methods; the third is composed of a great variety of combative ideas lying outside of either of the first two and has ideas which vary as greatly as do the different peoples using them. Each of these three major categories will be discussed in its appropriate place in later chapters, but a few introductory remarks are relevant here.

Kuntao, as far as Indonesia is concerned, consists of a variety of combative forms transplanted from the Asian mainland. Though it cannot be historically documented, it appears to be the oldest formalized major combative art in Indonesia, dating to the time of the first Chinese settlements (B.C.) in this archipelago. From the nineteenth century onward *kuntao* gave evident, but limited, aid to the development of true Indonesian forms of combat.

Every Chinese community in Indonesia has *kuntao,* but because of the traditionally attached secretiveness of its teachings (especially to non-Chinese), *kuntao* may not be openly displayed, or even known, to other than Chinese Indonesians.[26] It is found mostly on Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the Celebes, but may also be found in the far-flung outposts and remote hamlets all over the archipelago, such as in Kupang on Timor. The *sanchien,* or "three steps," are basic fundamentals common to almost all styles, and the further major dependence upon animal

26. This point is an all-important one. Non-Chinese Indonesians will usually argue against the seniority of *kuntao* over more indigenous combative forms. The Chinese culture preceded that of the Hindus. The mere fact that *kuntao* cannot be reported as having been seen in the early days of Indonesian history cannot be rightfully used as an argument for its nonexistence.

actions and nomenclature for interpretation and identification of styles is an important characteristic. Both northern and southern Chinese *kuntao* styles are observed in Indonesia.

The Djanger and Ketchak dances of Bali exhibit profound Chinese influences which serve to make up each of their peculiarities. Both of these dances, while of relatively recent choreography, nevertheless borrowed some typical *kuntao* movements.[27]

A current Indonesian dictionary defines *pentjak* as "a system of self-defense" and *silat* as "fencing" or "to fend off." F. Bowers maintains that they are two words for the same thing;[28] some differ by regarding *pentjak* as an art and *silat* as physical culture. None of these definitions are acceptable to master exponents of *pentjak-silat*. Combatively speaking, perhaps the best translations are found in the Menangkabau connotation,[29] which equates *pentjak* as "skillful body movements in variations for self-defense," and *silat* as "fighting application of *pentjak*." Other definitions exist, but all agree that *silat* cannot exist without *pentjak; pentjak* without *silat* is purposeless.

The word *pentjak* has a curious possible original source derived from the Mandarin (Chinese) Shantung expression *pung-cha*. *Pung* means "to parry and cover an attacking action," while *cha* implies "to finalize by striking [chopping] action." The first ideogram implies an "avalanche force" while the second implies "pressing." Thus by corruptive adoption *pung-cha* may have become *pentjak*.

Pentjak-silat is certainly to be termed a combative form indigenous to Indonesia. But it is a synthesis product, not a purely autogenic endeavor, as some *pentjak-silat* exponents believe. In *pentjak-silat* can be found foreign influences, such as Nepalese music, Hindu weapons and combative styles, Siamese costumes, Arabian weapons, and Chinese weapons and combative tactics. Without its technical ancestry as based on foreign ideas, *pentjak-silat* could never be what it is today; that is, it would no doubt exist, but it would have an entirely different form if foreign influences were to be entirely removed from it.[30] The natural, easy-flowing circular grace of movement so characteristic of most *pentjak-silat* styles has its roots in Chinese combative soil. The word *pisau* is a corruptive form of the Chinese *pi-shou*, which serves to identify a small knife used in almost all *pentjak-silat* systems. These examples and many

27. South China *kuntao* hand actions make up a large portion of the Djanger; while in the latter dance can be seen the *kowkun* mannerisms of Fukien.

28. *Theater in the East* (New York, 1956).

29. Guan Tjai, a Chinese of the Padang, Sumatra area, is a *pentjak-silat* and *kuntao* authority who considers this definition standard.

30. A similar analogy applies to the combative forms of Korea, Okinawa, and Japan. While possessing native names to identify by (Korean *taekwondō;* Okinawan *karate-jutsu;* Japanese *karate-dō*), all of these combatives have been generated around a continental Asian base, the removal of which would greatly change their outward forms.

others make Chinese influence an important root for *pentjak-silat;* however, it is not the only one.

Hindu culture gave *pentjak-silat* a vast heritage of combative ideas. Many of the grappling tactics used stem from Indian origins; the thigh-slapping antics of various *pentjak-silat* styles smack of Hindu wrestling ritual in Hindu culture. The Indian *trisula,* the trident-head spear, is believed to have served as the prototype for the *tjabang* (branch), the forked iron truncheon.[31] The *tjabang* is a pre-Majapahit weapon (perhaps Srividjaya) and was originally used defensively as a shield. Stone-sculpture artworks in Java depicting this weapon give it historic support which predates its appearance in Chinese and Okinawan interpretations.

Arabian blades have been carried over to *pentjak-silat* by their Muslim devotees. The Arab *jambia* is the probable prototype for many of the Muslim *pentjak-silat* blade patterns.

Japanese combative ideas also have penetrated the technical design and mannerisms of *pentjak-silat,* and have played an important role in the development of modern *pentjak-silat.* Therefore, Indonesian *pentjak-silat* further indirectly increases its awareness of eastern Asian combatives.

Pentjak-silat exists in 157 officially recorded styles. In matters of its technical characteristics, it abides by certain local area physical abilities and cultural mannerisms of the people, such as produced by socio-economic forces of the area in which the combative style was born. Thus, given a specific geographical area, it is possible to predict the major technical characteristics of its intrinsic form.[32] The following summary is generally valid:

a) foot tactics—Sumatra
b) hand tactics—West Java, Borneo, Celebes
c) synthesis (foot-and-hand tactics)—Central Java, East Java, Madura, and Bali
d) grappling tactics—East Java, Bali, Sumatra

All systems of *pentjak-silat* are based on the use of weapons. They are positively not considered empty-hand combative measures in the purest sense of that expression. No *pentjak-silat* system is combatively idealistic, so foolish, or so naïve as to require the exclusive use of empty-hand

31. Variously known as *titjio* in southern China and *sai* on Okinawa and Japan.

32. The reader is warned not to rely upon this relationship for the purpose of over-generalizing the technical characteristics of Indonesian *pentjak-silat.* It is applicable only to technical characteristics as formulated in the area of origin. Thus, for example, not all Sumatran *pentjak-silat* use predominantly foot tactics, for with the transfer of systems from other areas of origin, or newly developed styles, this relationship breaks down. Perhaps it is better to use the relationship in the reverse. Upon seeing a *pentjak-silat* form and identifying its predominant technical characteristic (foot, hand, etc.) its source area may be revealed according to the relationship stated.

tactics for solving all combative situations.[33] Rather, empty-hand tactics are the foundation for weapons employments. Conversely, the exponent who is unarmed or disarmed does not suffer any disadvantage; he can fight effectively. To harmoniously weld together empty-hand and weapons skills, *pentjak-silat* has purposely built in a feature which characterizes all classical forms. This is the feature which permits precisely the same empty-hand actions to be performed while holding a weapon or weapons, without danger to the operator himself.[34]

To exercise both the unarmed and armed aspects of *pentjak-silat*, Javanese systems employ the method of the *kerojok*. The name implies "a fight of one against many." It is a test of skill imposed on skilled exponents to test their continuous responses to gang-attack tactics. As many as eight or more "enemies" may be pitted against a solitary defender. The defender is attacked with all means available; both armed and unarmed situations are rapidly thrust upon him. Weapons used against him may be interchanged by his attackers, and a great deal of exertive training is produced thereby for all participants. The defender must be well versed in both attack and defense methods over the entire range of weapons and unarmed attack-defense situations. When completely unarmed, he must be acrobatic enough to avoid the weapons being used by his attackers. When able to secure a weapon or weapons, he must apply the same effectively without endangering himself. This method is called *tawur* in East Java. The whole matter is complicated because there is no prearrangement as to what attacks will be forthcoming from the attackers; the defender is free to use any available means for his defense. Naturally, the concern for safety requires all participants to focus their actions so that if faulty responses are made, no serious injury can result.

Weapons for *pentjak-silat* are a mixture of indigenous and transplanted types, the latter largely from continental Asia. Almost all classical *pentjak-silat* systems contain the following weaponry as standard (Fig. 3):

pisau—a short-bladed knife with no specific shape or dimensions.
parang—a cleaver-type knife with blades ranging from ten to thirty-six inches in length. The cutting edge is straight or nearly so, and the blade is broadest and heaviest at the tip; the reverse edge is

33. No such martial snobbery exists for any classical *pentjak-silat* form. This consideration is true of all genuine combative measures. Modern-day emphasis on the empty-hand aspects or sporting outlets for Chinese, Korean, or Japanese fighting forms has particularly clouded the issue. Japanese *karate-dō* or other quasicombatives influenced by that form display the fact that they are not classical combative measures, by their refusal to permit the operator the use of weapons. Japanese *karate-dō*, a twentieth-century development, completely untested in actual combat, is especially guilty of this combative unreality.

34. This feature exists in classical *kuntao* and suggests to some authorities a feature borrowed by *pentjak-silat*.

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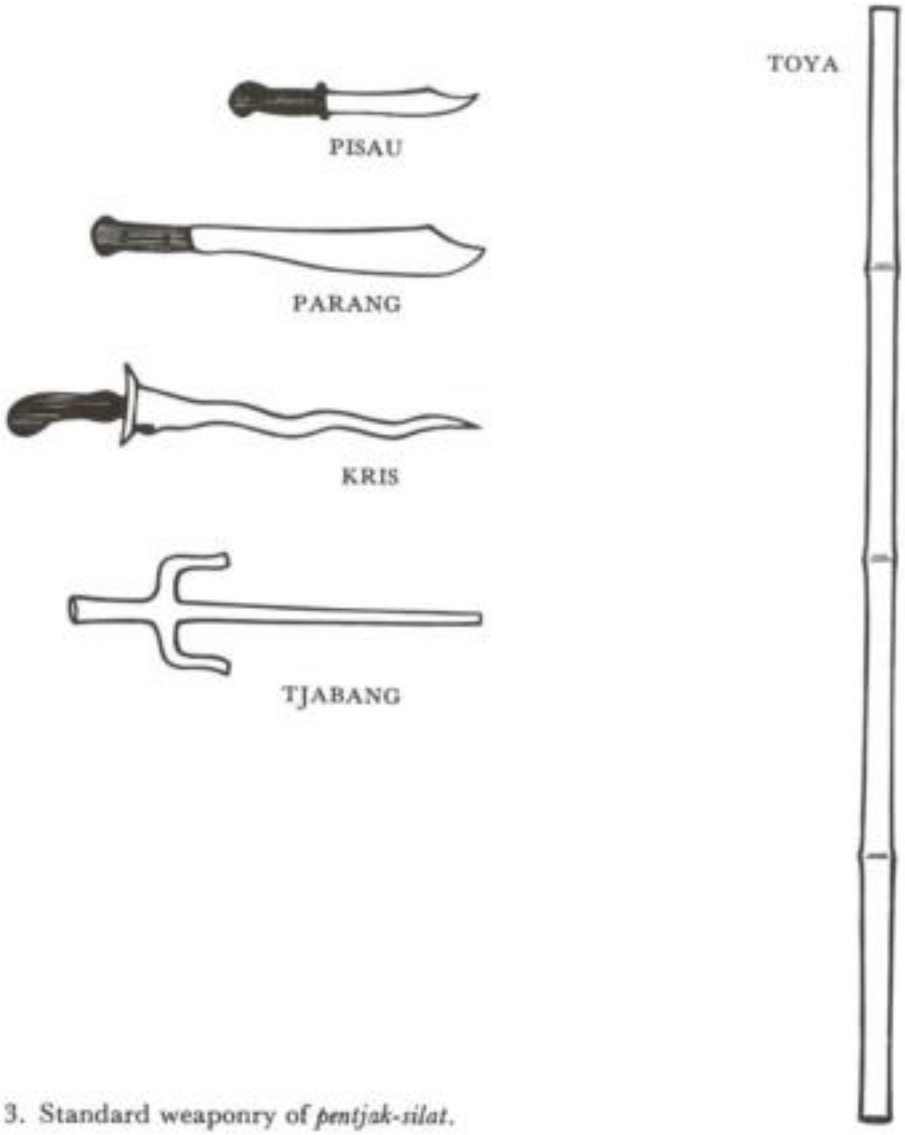

3. Standard weaponry of *pentjak-silat*.

also quite straight but has a rather blunt contour which brings it to the tip at a slant.

kris—a unique, double-edged dagger with blade lengths ranging from five to just over thirty inches.

tjabang—a short metal truncheon fitted with two tine projections that emerge from the shaft at a place where the handle ends. Overall lengths range from approximately twelve to twenty-five inches.

toya—a wooden staff, usually of rattan, some five to six feet in length and from one and one-half to two inches in diameter along its entire untapered length.

In addition to standard weaponry, well-known and more geographically localized types exist. They are not necessarily restricted to their localities, however. Such weapons include (Fig. 4):

tongkat (*gada* or *gala*)—a series of names commonly applied to sticks and clubs of short but nondescript lengths.

pedang—a short sword with a curved or straight blade, usually single-edged, varying in overall length from between fifteen to thirty-five inches; actual blade lengths vary upward from ten inches. The weapon is designed for single-handed employment.

arit—a sickle with pronounced half-moon blade patterns and short handle. Usually employed single-handed; there is some use of two, one in each hand.

golok—a heavy, cleaver-type knife with a convex cutting edge. The blade is heaviest in the center and flows away in a curve to a sharp point at the tip. Blades range in length from ten to twenty inches.

kělewang—a long sword with a single cutting edge and a protruding notch near its tip. Blades vary from fifteen to thirty inches in length.

tombak—a spear with various head designs and a great range of shaft lengths.

Additionally, most systems of *pentjak-silat* harbor special weapons, beyond those already mentioned. These will be described in their appropriate places in later chapters.

There has been a serious tendency by foreign observers, and scholars, to regard *pentjak-silat* as a dance form. This notion is in gross error and it is criticized by orthodox experts. Several factors have contributed toward this misunderstanding:

1) *pĕntjak-silat* is a composite issue and can be practiced separately in each of its component parts.
2) the agility and graceful movements of *pentjak-silat* exponents suggest artistic qualities which appeal to the aesthetic and kinesthetic senses.
3) music is sometimes used as accompaniment to *pentjak-silat* action.
4) some Indonesian dances have utilized *pentjak* actions; on the other hand, *pentjak-silat* may also have borrowed some ideas from dances.

It will be apparent from the definition of *pentjak-silat* (see p. 32) that it can be practiced in two different ways. But underlying all is the fact that *pentjak* is practiced to develop *silat* ability; *pentjak* is never practiced for its own sake. With rare exceptions it is only the *pentjak* component that the casual observer is permitted to see; his untutored eye reaches the natural conclusion that what he sees is the whole. The regulated performance of *pentjak* utilizes a beauty of action, fluidity, and quickness that can appear to be a dancelike rhythm. Add to this the percussion

TONGKAT

PEDANG

ARIT

GOLOK

KĚLEWANG

TOMBAK

4. Localized *pentjak-silat* weaponry.

5. Percussion music accompaniment to *pentjak* training.

music (Fig. 5), which usually accompanies *pentjak* training, and the viewer's conclusion is intensified. But the music is used much like a metronome in order to determine rhythm of movement for trainees, not to make *pentjak* a dance form. The music is of course dispensed with in *silat*.

The Pagarujung area near Bukittinggi, Sumatra, is the center of an energetic *pentjak-silat* form known as PATAI *silat*. This form has been interestingly reported on by F. Bowers in his *Theater in the East*. What Bowers actually witnessed was the *randai*. The *randai* is a dance form, which, though borrowing *pentjak*-like movements, is not actually *pentjak* (Fig. 6). The *randai* tells the story of Sik Rasana from Pajakumbuh, a wicked woman who was driven from her village and wished to return. PATAI exponents take part in this dance theme as well as in another dance which involves balancing china saucers as they move. By graceful motion and skillful arm and hand actions, the saucers are moved without dropping them (Fig. 7).

The *pandekar*, a master teacher of *pentjak-silat*, is the most interesting and respected personality of the combative art. (The word *pandekar* stems from the Menangkabau expression *pandai akal* which means "clever mind.") The *pandekar* is, aside from his great technical skills, a spiritualist around whom many legends have been constructed. Among his many claimed supernatural powers are those of mental telepathy,

6. *Pentjak*-like movements in the *randai* dance form.

7. Two views of the saucer dance done by Patai *silat* exponents.

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mind reading, mystic healing,[35] and foreseeing the future. The combative invulnerability of the *pandekar* is also an unexplainable property of his mystic status. There are few genuine *pandekar* in Indonesia today.

Endemic combative systems are those composed largely of regional area fighting methods. The majority of them are based on combative ideas developed and used by specific peoples in specific areas, confined to those areas and not found elsewhere in Indonesia. Others are those fighting arts and weapons based on a local area style transplanted to still another area, there to undergo modifications and alterations which tune it to the new people who are to use them; but the original character may still be observed in terms of technical form. Still other endemic combative systems are synthesis efforts which may borrow from *kuntao* and/or *pentjak-silat* and even from other combative forms including those of foreign countries; such synthesis products take on standards as set by efforts of their respective founders. But, because of the great latitude in any endemic fighting art, expressed in terms of weapons and their employments, the endemic systems are less formalized and crystallized in a technical sense than are the better-known *kuntao* and *pentjak-silat* forms.

Throughout the Indonesian Archipelago the endemic combative systems utilize all the standard weapons of *pentjak-silat*,[36] but additionally have devised peculiar instruments of their own. Some very broad generalizations concerning the predominance of weapons in relation to geographical area are possible. Proceeding eastward from Sumatra, the archipelago's westernmost boundary, bladed weapons in knife and sword designs are dominant. This preference holds generally true throughout Java, Bali, Lombok, Borneo, and the Celebes. Beginning in Borneo and the Celebes, however, the dominant bladed weapon becomes the spear as a projectile weapon. Some additional popularity is accorded to the blowpipe, still another projectile weapon. Further east lies the Moluccas (including Halmahera and Tanimbar). Here the stick and staff vie for dominance alongside the projectile weapons. There is some indication of lessening dominance for the spear on the eastern edges of the Moluccas, and the bow and arrow come into favor. At the archipelago's easternmost boundary, West New Guinea (including the Aru Islands), the bow and arrow is the dominant weapon.

35. This writer, having suffered a deep scalp wound, was treated by the *pandekar* Dirdjoatmodjo of Perisai Diri *pentjak-silat*, Surabaja, East Java. This *pandekar* merely touched the open wound with his fingers as he concentrated, and within seconds the profuse bleeding stopped. No pressure was applied and the bleeding stopped before normal coagulation time. The unexplainable feat was witnessed by Howard Alexander, a creditable man.

36. This must be understood to also include some weapons of *kuntao* which have been adapted to *pentjak-silat*. Such standard weapons may have taken on special area dialect names.

Chapter 2

JAVA and MADURA

I feel an army in my fist.

—SCHILLER

■ Pentjak-silat

The core of Indonesian combative arts and the best known of them all is *pentjak-silat*. Though from the historical point of view Sumatra is considered the original home of this Indonesian fighting art, it was the Javanese who brought it to its technical zenith and who were responsible for its wide development. Java today has the bulk of the many styles.

Insofar as Java is concerned, *pentjak-silat* perhaps first developed in its western to central portions. It owes its peculiar styles there to the direct influence of Sumatran combatives (see Chapter 3), which in turn had been greatly affected by continental Asian patterns.

The so-called Sunda *silat* is a general term for *pentjak-silat* in West Java. West Javanese forms are more appropriately referred to by local native names. All can be identified by the prefix TJI: TJIKAMPEK, TJIKALONG, TJIMANDE, TJIMATJAN, TJIULER, TJIPETIR, TJIBEDUJUT, TJIMALAJA, and TJIKABON. Each is a specific system of *pentjak-silat*, and there are numerous more. The prefix TJI is a Sundanese corruption of the word *tjai*, which means "water from a river." It was chosen to prefix the names of fighting systems in West Java because originally many of those systems were developed in the lowland basin areas. Today this is no longer precisely true, for the TJI systems are to be found on the innermost high plateaus and even in the mountain ranges of Central and West Java. The prefix TJI was always suffixed by a word which identified an animal, the characteristics of which make up the distinctive mechanics of the system.[1] Thus *kabon* (bat), *matjan* (tiger), *uler*

1. Tradition states that *pentjak-silat* styles take much form from the studies of priests (*pendita*) who used to study animal actions. Combined with various meditation postures (*semadi*) in observance of religious practices, the animal actions gave the priests the necessary skills to protect themselves. The relation between Indian *mudra* and Indonesian combative actions remains to be more fully investigated.

(snake), and still others are combined with the prefix TJI to become the proper names of *pentjak-silat* systems based on animal actions.

The chief TJI styles are found in the mountainous area of West Java between Bogor and Bandung. They are all identified by the fact that they have less frontal contact with the enemy during combat than do most of the other *pentjak-silat* styles on Java. Circular action in evasion is their key method. In some training sessions, TJI style experts who obtain a "touch" on the trunk of their training partner are victors. A high dependence upon the hands and arms is thus necessary for parrying and blocking actions which makes this evasion workable. Mental discipline runs high in all TJI systems which additionally heighten physical skills by periodic fasting requirements. It is believed that through the rigors of fasting a new "inner power" will develop and be released. Prayer is also invoked and brings West Java *pentjak-silat* close to religion.

Sunda *silat* is also called Bandung *silat,* which in turn is sometimes loosely referred to as *main-po,* or "to do *po*." *Po* implies "self-defense." Still other titular identifications may be heard in West Java, such as "*pentcha*" and "*pentcha-silat,*" or "*pentjak betawi,*" all of which relate specifically to the TJIMANDE style.

TJIMANDE centers on the Tjiawi area, but was developed prior to the twentieth century in the Sukabumi region of Tjisarua nearby. The founder, Kair (deceased), developed an outstanding pupil, Atma, who is a leading teacher today. Atma is currently a Tjiliwung tea-plantation worker whose sixty-odd years fail to lessen his amazing and graceful skill. The best young stylists are found in the city of Tjiandur (which also hosts the best TJIKALONG exponents).

TJIMANDE is mainly an arm-hand system but also can use leg and foot tactics with considerable force and effect; however, kicks are restricted to low target areas and are most often straight frontal attacks. The TJIMANDE fighter positions himself with elbows held in close to his body, open hands or closed fists, and makes circular actions with his hands as he advances. His posture is usually a deep crouch (Fig. 8), made from widely spaced feet, knees bent, body held upright. This positioning and resultant movement comes from the practice of cautiously placing the feet from lifted leg positions, as if stepping over wet places (recall that original TJI styles were developed in river-basin areas). TJIMANDE form requires a proximity to the enemy generally not seen in other *pentjak-silat* forms. Characteristic of the moment of closing with the enemy is the stamping of the rear foot into the turf (Fig. 9); and by use of clever hand-unbalancing actions the TJIMANDE exponent will turn the enemy's attack into a harmless direction (Fig. 10). The blow from the TJIMANDE fighter's arm is devastating. He has developed enough power in it to smash coconuts, concentrating the force of the blow not into the little finger edge of the hand (as do Japanese *karate-dō* exponents) but into the wrist (top, bottom, and sides).

All basic TJIMANDE tactics consider a minimum of three "enemies"

8. Tjimande style deep crouch posture.

9. The stamping action of the Tjimande style.

10. The use of hand actions by a Tjimande exponent.

11. The use of the *golok* in the Tjimande style.

closing in on the operator; later as skill increases, five, eight, and even twelve are dealt with effectively.

TJIMANDE gives great emphasis to weapons' study. The staff (*toya*), the forked iron truncheon (*tjabang*), the short knife (*pisau*), the long-bladed knife (*parang*), and the heavy cleaver knife (*golok*) are all studied seriously. Figure 11 illustrates the use of the *golok*. A special weapon, however, is the small throwing knife (*piau*, see Fig. 24), perhaps borrowed from *kuntao* forms.

TJIKALONG is a style highly similar to TJIMANDE since it borrows its technical base from the latter source. Founded also in Sukabumi it has a long history.[2] Its chief differences from TJIMANDE lie in the manner of hand-and-arm actions. Whereas TJIMANDE may employ the fist, TJIKALONG prefers the open hand; the former style blocks with an unsupported arm (Fig. 12) while the latter system supports its blocking member from underneath by use of the free-arm hand (Fig. 13).

TJIWARINGIN is still another system derived from TJIMANDE. It has a peculiar up-and-down movement in stance and displacement which is executed twice while standing on one leg, arms spread. This is done only in practice training (*pentjak*) to strengthen the legs, increase the sense of balance, and to improve mobility. The form is rarely displayed.

2. By Chinese legend it is said to have been born when a *kuntao* master demonstrated his great skill in dodging blowpipe missiles. Many students flocked to his side to learn his training methods.

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12. Two views of blocking in the Tjimande style.

13. Two views of blocking in the Tjikalong style.

14. From a "sitting" (*sempok*) posture (*left*), springing up (*center*) to deliver a hand attack (*right*) in the Tjingkrik style.

An evasive style with fast, powerful open-hand actions is the TJINGKRIK. Footwork is the key to the acrobatic action required by this system. One important tactic (but also common to other *pentjak-silat* forms) is the ability to move from a standing position to a low "sitting" posture and then suddenly spring up to deliver an attack (usually with the hands, Fig. 14). The tactic is thought to have evolved from the crude *silat* Melayu forms to the Sumatran Menangkabau combat masters who brought it to a high degree of finesse. There are two aspects to this tactic:[3] If in the sinking action of the body the moving leg is carried behind the platform leg (Fig. 15), the position is termed *sempok;* carrying the moving leg in front of the platform leg creates a similar "sitting" posture known as *depok*. The action is light, quick, and deceptive. It requires strong and flexible hips and legs. Proper hand action imitates the vicious grabbing, rending, and tearing attacks common to wild monkeys, made as a direct counter after parrying or blocking; common targets are the throat, face, and groin. The system uses the standard weapons of *pentjak-silat* but favors the *pisau* and the *golok*.

3. So common is this tactic to many other *pentjak-silat* forms that the ground-sitting posture should be carefully understood. It will appear in various descriptions of *pentjak-silat* throughout this book.

15. Assuming the Tjingkrik *sempok* ("sitting") posture, in four stages.

Silat Mustika Kwitang, or more commonly KWITANG *silat*, is a practical system featuring powerful attacks and dynamic evasionary measures. The founder of the system is unknown. The head teaching responsibilities are currently in the hands of Zakaria in Djakarta. KWITANG *silat* uses a curved arm fist to strike into the target; the elbow is never fully extended so as to avoid a joint-locking counterattack by the enemy. Peculiar to this system only is the fact that the force of the closed fist is concentrated into the last two knuckles (little and ring fingers) by positioning it in a cocked or slightly curved position (flexed toward or against the thumb). Normally, the fist is delivered on a slightly rising vector into the enemy's midsection. Some open-hand action is used, but more likely than not the opened hand is clenched tightly as a fist just as impact is made with the target.

KWITANG *silat* exponents do not concentrate on any particular area of the enemy's body, but if an area is to be named it would lie below the shoulders. Vital points along the center line of the body are all that are deemed necessary; this suggests a *kuntao* influence. All KWITANG *silat* experts are possessed of an extremely hard and calloused heel acquired from the many hours of stamping it against hard surfaces. This natural weapon is effective against almost any anatomical target.

Weapons for KWITANG *silat* are chosen to represent a balance of types. Most important are the *golok*, the *toya*, the *pisau*, and the *tjabang*. The latter weapon is most expertly handled and ranks among the best performance of *tjabang* techniques in Indonesia. Figures 16 and 17 show unarmed KWITANG *silat* technique in defense against the *pisau* and the use of the *tjabang* in defense against the *toya*, respectively. The special weapon of KWITANG *silat* is the strange *kowlium*. Giving the appearance of a boat hook, its very name implies "to hook." The short shaft is tipped by a sharp pointed iron spearhead from which projects a small hook some few inches below the tip; the hook points down the shaft. The weapon is very effective against the *golok* (Fig. 18).

At Banjarang in the Batwkarut village area it is possible to witness the use of trances in *pentjak-silat* training. Also in Garat, near Bandung, another style called SUKAREGANG employs trancelike states to some degree.

A movement known as PPSI (Persatuan Pentjak Silat Selurah Indonesia) has Djakarta headquarters. Founded as an effort to produce a national style-synthesis *pentjak-silat*, under the direction of Major General Kosasih, it is now under the technical guidance of Lieutenant Colonel Soedarjanto, a SETIA HATI-trained expert. The movement has gained great popularity and has integrated many of the TJI systems under its banner. It began its almost impossible task by bringing together local native styles without requiring overstandardization of any form. The result has been both gratifying and productive. The traditional use of standard weapons is encouraged, but newer applications with these weapons are constantly under investigation.

16, 17. Kwitang *silat* techniques: unarmed defense against the *pisau* (*left*); the *tjabang* in defense against the *toya* (*right*).

18. The Kwitang *silat kowlium* used against the *golok*.

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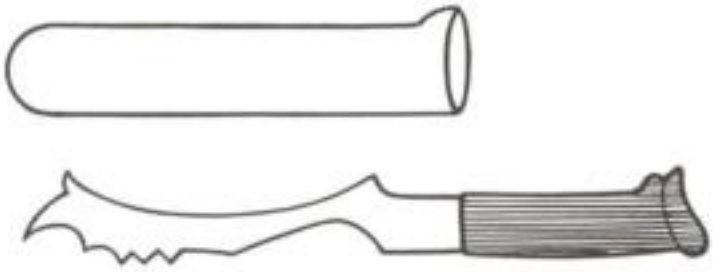


19. The *kujungi* and sheath of PPSI.

PPSI exponents are skilled with three special weapons. One of them, the *kujungi* (Fig. 19), is a mystic knife of wicked design. Another is the *arbir* (Fig. 20), a halberd weapon about five feet in overall length which has the peculiar, but useful, feature of a shallow groove running the length of the shaft. The groove is in the plane of the blade and the operator is able, at a touch, to know exactly where the cutting edge is at all times in the intricate manipulations (Fig. 21). But it is the third, special weapon, the *paku* (Fig. 22), which is the PPSI secret tactic. It is for experts only. The *paku* is an old weapon which derives from Chinese sources (the *piau*) and may be considered as a throwing knife (similar to some patterns of Japanese *shuriken*). The original *paku* were only two or three inches in overall length, sharply pointed at both ends. Concealed in the hands or garments, they were thrown in defense of one's life. This particular short-design feature was a deliberate one. It precluded the weapon thrown from being thrown back by the intended victim with effect; it took great skill to master the throwing art. Newer *paku* now in vogue are commonly from four to six inches in overall length and take considerably less skill to deliver effectively. Additionally, the newer forms are single pointed.

Still another strong organizational movement to nationalize the *pentjak-silat* of the country under one technical administration is IPSI. It stands for Ikatan Pentjak Silat Indonesia, implying "collective Indonesian *pentjak-silat*." Like PPSI it is Muslim directed. Formed in 1947, it has Djakarta headquarters under the direction of Rachmad Soeronagoro. The organization stands firm on the fact that though all areas produce native styles, all function from common roots. It believes that the technically weak *pentjak-silat* styles must eventually succumb to the technically sound forms. It has until now resisted a tendency growing within itself to interpret *pentjak-silat* as a sport or game form, well knowing that any combative which permits such a modification must inevitably suffer the loss of combative vitality. It has secured supporting branch agencies in Sumatra, Borneo, and the Celebes.

20. The *arbir* of PPSI.

21. The use of the *arbir* in PPSI.

22. Old (*left*) and new (*right*) forms of the PPSI *paku*.

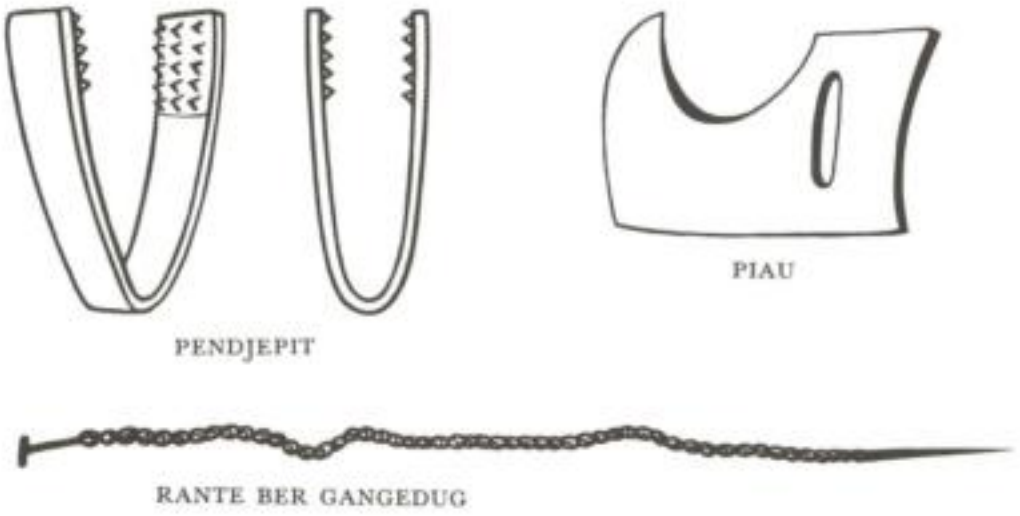
23. The use of the *toya* in IPSI *silat*.

Weapons form an important phase of study among *pentjak-silat* styles affiliated to IPSI. It is to be expected that the Muslim devotion to the blade would condition the choice of weapons; all the standard types are used. Staff (*toya*) tactics appear to be rooted in the old *silat* Melayu styles in which there is little sliding of the hands to manipulate the weapon. Fixed hand positions deliver thrust and wide-looping (Fig. 23) arc-striking attacks. The chain (*rante*) is the special weapon of many of the IPSI *pentjak-silat* forms. This weapon has its roots in Chinese combative tactics.

Central Javanese *pentjak-silat* styles are many. A few described will serve to show characteristics by which regional differences may be seen. The Chinese Catholic Youth Organization which centers in Jogjakarta is an active source of a *pentjak-silat* style known as PRISAI SAKTI (PERISAI SAHKTI). The name implies "holy shield." It is an interesting synthesis of Javanese *pentjak-silat* forms and Japanese combatives and quasicombatives (*jūjutsu*, judo, and *karate-dō*) superimposed on a Chinese *kuntao* base.[4] Founded in 1946 by J. Widjihartani of Jogjakarta, PRISAI SAKTI is a balanced combative form which demonstrates a concern for realism. As a modern form it is connected both to Christian religion and Indonesian nationalism, stressing a philosophy called Tri-Sakti. The elements of this triad are simple and each member is sworn to uphold them in the proper balance:

1) *pengabdian*—devotion to Christian God
2) *pengorbanan*—self-will to sacrifice
3) *kesetiann*—loyalty to the nation

4. Positive Chinese influence from South China is evidenced by the use of Pei-ho (stork style), *kuntao* movements, and other mechanical aspects common to Khe area (Canton) Chinese combatives. Widjihartani himself is an accomplished *kuntao* master.



24. Special weapons of Prisai Sakti *silat*.

PRISAI SAKTI permits of no sporting applications. It follows no rules which could give it a sporting way of competition, for it regards all of its purposes as combative responses to combative situations. Naturally during early training, the formative period especially, exponents are placed under certain training restrictions and controls so that there is a minimum of injuries. But as skill develops these controls are lessened and finally dropped altogether.

Training begins with exercises that permit the trainee to fall to the ground without injury. Like all true *pentjak-silat* forms, PRISAI SAKTI falling tactics are made on natural terrain; no protective padding is allowed. Hard ground, concrete, tile, paved surfaces, and even field areas on which stones lie are "mat" areas for trainees. Even the youngest exponents, five years of age, are able to take falls from high-speed judo throws and *jūjutsu* techniques without requiring mats.

Due to its emphasis on leg tactics, kicking attacks are studied next. Here Chinese influence is identified by the use of heel-thrusting actions. Striking actions made by hands and arms are next. All common patterns, using both open and closed hand formations, are studied. Arm actions are somewhat longer than those seen in most *pentjak silat* forms of the area. Some joint locking techniques (Japanese judo *kanetsu waza* and Japanese *aikidō* locks) are attempted. No choking (Japanese judo *shime waza*) is considered. Most grappling situations are resolved by holding the opponent helpless, by arm locking and/or striking.

The weapons used in PRISAI SAKTI *silat* are not different from the standard weapons normally employed. But three additional ones are considered special for the system (Fig. 24): One, the *pendjepit*, a small metal pincher, can be jabbed into the enemy to rip or twist the flesh. Two, the *rante ber gangedug*, a specially prepared chain, is used to whip or ensnare the enemy. Three, the *piau*, a queerly shaped piece of metal, is thrown at the enemy (similar to Japanese *shuriken* discoid types).

The underlying application of this *pentjak-silat* system is defensive in nature. It trains the operator to be self-reliant, courageous, and original in combative situations. Everything is studied and used as a weapon and, with the standard weaponry of *pentjak-silat* serving as its guide, PRISAI SAKTI experts are encouraged to develop new designs and means of employment.

Training requires that the trainee progress through a scheduled rank system. In order of ascending seniority the ranks are visually identified by red, black, blue, gray, and orange belts. The ranks are not overemphasized and are awarded on the basis of the master's judgment of the pupil's readiness for the belts. Training is open to both sexes and there is emphasis on the teaching of youth. This combative form finds great popularity because of its traditional past, which it reflects as a synthesis with the modern age. It has pledged its tactics to the glory of the nation's drive for independence, and this appeal continues as the country emerges from its antique past and moves rapidly toward a position of international leadership.

SETIA HATI *silat* (known as S-hah) is an important combative form in Central Java. The name implies "faithful heart," including the concepts of both "love and faith in one's self." This core system has given birth to several modified forms such as SETIA HATI ORGANASI (faithful heart organization), and the SETIA HATI TERATE (see East Java, p. 60). All SETIA HATI *silat* systems are rooted in the tactics of the Menangkabau of Sumatra (see Chapter 3, p. 124), especially those stemming from the Padang area *pentjak silat*, all of which are unmistakably Menangkabau in origin.

SETIA HATI *silat* employs the hands and arms primarily for blocking, covering, parrying, and evading the enemy. Keyed by the "soft" style tactics, SETIA HATI exponents rely upon speed of reaction and anticipation of the enemy's attack. Yielding to the enemy includes "beating him to the punch" to score on the target prior to his strength climax against the operator. There appears to be a very definite delicateness to all maneuvering. Training is carried out mainly by the use of prearranged patterns called *permainan*, or "arranged action" (not unlike the Japanese *kata* training method). The trainee is engrossed in *latinan* (training) and builds his skills so that they stand coupled for effective use, not as isolated reactions to combative situations (the process is called *kembangan*, implying "variation"). Hand actions are made effective by the widespread ability of its experts to operate the "dolls" for the *wayang kulit*, or "shadow play," art. This art form requires deftness of hands which stands in good stead in *pentjak-silat*.

Kicking actions are quick and efficient, making full use of all possible footwork combinations; remarkable flexibility is evidenced in the manner of "round-house" kicking tactics. Experts will often evade and maneuver around behind their enemy, there to shove him into kicking range; the spinal area is the target for the kick (Fig. 25).

25. Evasion (*above*) and kicking (*right*) tactics in Setia Hati *silat*.

All SETIA HATI systems are pervaded by a deep spiritual philosophy which takes them beyond purely physical exercise (*kebathinan* or *kerochanian*, and *djasmani* respectively). SETIA HATI exponents will be found all over the length and breadth of Java. Especially notable in Central Java are the PERSATRIAN HATI, or "union of heart," and the TUNGGAL HATI, or "only one heart," styles.

26. Bima *silat* postures: "a girl combing her hair" (*above*); "snake-dragon" (*right*).

Central Java also hosts the BIMA (Budoja Indonesia Matarm) *silat* movement. The name suggests "culture place of Indonesia" and the style is characteristically active. Postures take unusual forms and are interestingly named (Fig. 26): "a girl combing her hair" and "snake-dragon." Ground rolling tactics and high-leaping abilities are common in this fighting form. SILAT PUTRA, or "junior *silat*," is a style which caters to the youth of Central Java. The CHAMPAKA PUTIH, or "white flower," *silat* form centers on the Tjikabon area of Central Java but extends to Jogjakarta. It is an unusual style which sees the operator crouch very low to the ground. Spinning on one foot, the other leg extended, CHAMPAKA PUTIH experts generate enough power to knock the feet out from under an unsuspecting foe. By the use of *sempok* and *depok* postures, it too identifies its Menangkabau roots.

The TAPAK SUTJI system, founded in 1963 by the then seventy-two-year-old Ifan Badjam (Fig. 27), is an interesting fighting form. Common to Central Java, the name implies various meanings, such as root—"white/holy," or hand—"holy/sacred," and perhaps step—"sacred." It is a highly active and complicated system.

27. Ifan Badjam, founder of the Tapak Sutji system.

TAPAK SUTJI borrows heavily from other *pentjak-silat* forms, but additionally makes use of a peculiar never-static posture. It requires constant and energetic movement of the operator, who revolves or turns about his own axis every few seconds (Fig. 28). As such it is a highly evasive form and must be perplexing to an enemy, perhaps even amusing, as the dervishlike antics may lead him to wonder what will happen next. Staying at long range is tailor-made for the TAPAK SUTJI expert who may be more troubled by the enemy who bores in for close infighting.

The training methods of TAPAK SUTJI make use of outdoor areas, the mountains and seashore being favored (Fig. 29). All training takes place on natural terrain and padded surfaces are not permitted. High-speed falls from powerful throws, similar to Japanese judo *kata-guruma, uchi-mata, osoto-gari,* are safely performed on natural terrain.

Weaponry follows the usual standard types of *pentjak-silat.* But additionally TAPAK SUTJI applies two special weapons: One, the Japanese two-handed, single-edged sword (*katana*) is studied, though it is employed (Fig. 30) in a fashion which has little if any relation with the intended Japanese tactics. Two, a weapon called the *segu* (Fig. 31), meaning "common usage," is a metal truncheon with a short flexible metal shaft a bit over one foot in length. It is used to strike sensitive areas on the arms and head of the enemy. The *segu* is also sometimes called *serba* or *guna.*

Striking by hand in the manner of Japanese *karate-dō* exponents and kicking tactics also follow a similar pattern, with the added use of a whirling sickle or reaping action of the legs from the *sempok* or *depok* posture. Because of its extremely energetic action, almost all TAPAK SUTJI exponents are youthful.

28. *Pentjak* action in Tapak Sutji.

29. The outdoor training on natural terrain of Tapak Sutji.

30. The use of the Japanese sword (*katana*) in Tapak Sutji.

31. The *segu* of Tapak Sutji.

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In East Java is found an offshoot of SETIA HATI known as SETIA HATI TERATE. It is an important fighting form completely under Muslim influence. It was originally known as Sedulur Tunggal Ketjer in 1903, when founded by Ki Ngabehi Soerodiwirjo (Pak Soero) in Surabaja. In 1917 the founder moved to Winogo city near Maduin and, with the assistance of his most able pupil Hardjoutomo, restyled the system as Djojo Gendilo Tjipto Muljo. Eventually the entire form became known as SETIA HATI TERATE. The system evokes a complex philosophy and religious depth in addition to its intricate mechanical basis.

SETIA, implying "faithful," is coupled to HATI which means "heart," and the whole of these is attached to the word TERATE. The *terate* is an unusual flower that can live with or without water for extended periods of time, and under the most severe conditions. It is a symbol of tenacity and hardiness. Thus the name tells of the underlying basis of SETIA HATI TERATE, that of being a self-perpetuating entity which will never know death. Each person entering its teachings must swear to abide by an oath in which the following conditions are mandatory:

1) to worship God (*gertagwa kepada tuhan*)
2) to commit no adultery (*tak boteh merusak pagaraju*)
3) to support the national government (*tak bolem menentang pemerintah joliang sjah patuh pada persturanundang-persturanundang*)
4) to think before acting (*tak boleh takabur*)
5) to love all persons (*harno tukun dengan sesama manusia*)
6) to recognize and respect the founder (*mengakni* Pak Soero *sebagai sandara tua*)
7) to use mutual discussion of personal problems with members (*kolou ada hal-hal jang pintino—merunlinj kan dengan saudara terdekat*)

Training in SETIA HATI TERATE begins with physical skills, such as balance, posture, movement, evasion, and striking actions. Little mechanical difference from other *pentjak-silat* forms exists, but as expertise develops there are some unusual features which help make up this combative measure. The expert depends less upon physical contact and more upon evasive skills made possible by hypnosis applied against his enemy; coupled with deftness of hand actions, the operator subdues his enemy. Anticipation of the enemy's actions or potential actions by a rapid analysis of the posture being taken leads the SETIA HATI TERATE expert to physical success in personal encounters. One's enemy is never despised, even in combat, but is rather to be "loved" as a human being. But since the SETIA HATI TERATE expert has not been aggressive, he is rationalized as "right" by his defensive approach to combat; that is, he fights under and for a "just cause." He will be victorious as he abides by the "right makes might" appeal.

A large dependence upon leg actions makes up this fighting art. Approximately 75 percent of all tactics involve the leg in ways other

32. The *tjaluk* of Setia Hati Terate.

than for displacement. Yet the system gives the appearance of being well balanced in that it considers all forms of attack, as well as how to cope with them. Developed from the wanderings of its founder through China, Sumatra, Borneo, and Java, SETIA HATI TERATE has come to be a synthesis system with a fondness for a bladed weapon, the *tjaluk* (Fig. 32), a short knife of Muslim vintage. It is a special bladed instrument with a devastating potential recalled by John Pierpont's words:

A weapon that comes
down as still
as snowflakes fall
upon the sod.

The design of the knife brings into play a reverse cutting edge, making it extremely difficult to block or parry without sustaining injury. The *tjaluk* is at its best in close combat. Surprise, such as required for assassination, is the keynote of its application. Carried concealed in loose-fitting garments or in a wide sash, the *tjaluk* can rapidly be brought into play. It is about one-third smaller than the average Javanese *arit* (see Fig. 50). Other weapons used in SETIA HATI TERATE training are identical with the standard *pentjak-silat* types.

The ability to apply hypnosis effectively to the enemy is a special skill of which only the expert in this fighting form is capable. By such means the expert is able to distract and attenuate the enemy's reactions which might otherwise be brought into effective action against the operator. R. M. Iman Kussupa Ngot of Maduin is such an expert. A tall, swarthy-complexioned man, Iman carries an aura of mysticism about

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him. I was asked to stand facing him. In my right hand I was told to hold a bamboo sliver some ten inches in length. Grasping it lightly in a vertical position, most of its length protruding from the top of my hand, I faced Iman. He had positioned himself about two feet in front of me. He instructed me to jerk the bamboo out of his reach at the slightest movement he might make to grasp the sliver. I was to anticipate or use whatever reactions I possessed to prohibit his grasping the sliver. He was prepared to demonstrate the power of hypnosis over me, "beating me to the punch" so to speak, by taking the sliver away from me before I could react. We looked each other squarely in the eyes.

There were silent stares, both of us obviously alert and anticipatory. Eye contact maintained; suddenly Iman was clutching the sliver . . . I had not seen him move! He asked me to try again. Ten times I did try and only three times did I succeed in evading his grasp. Each successful attempt left me searching for gimmicks he used to accomplish his feat. I found only two possible answers: one, that he would attack when I was inhaling; or two, that he would attack when I broke eye contact by blinking.

Then he reversed the procedure. He held the sliver and I was to take it away from him. Ten tries, three successes also. Again I sought explanations and found that he was trying to hold the sliver a maximum distance from my body, causing me to approach imbalance when I moved. Regardless of how he managed, his demonstration was impressive. He had lightning fast reactions, as fast as any man I have ever met. (I know of several professional magicians who can do similar feats but who cannot best me in reflexes required under combative conditions. It is certain that Iman's expertise as a *wayang kulit* artisan plays an important role in his quickness of eye and deftness of hand actions.)

This hypnotic power (or whatever) was carried, according to Iman, into combat, and one of the leading reasons why SETIA HATI TERATE was superior to other *pentjak-silat* forms in actual fighting was because of this hypnosis factor. Iman identified other qualities of the system. It was important, he said, to disregard physical strength (and here I felt he was referring to my obvious advantage over him). While a tall man himself, he stands a willowy six feet, and is not the slightest bit bulky in a muscular sense. His handgrip, however, belies his stature; it is immensely powerful. Iman explained that the *silat* of SETIA HATI TERATE is based on self-belief, bravery, quickness of eye, and on the element of surprise over the enemy. Eye perceptions must be trained to the utmost degree to observe the enemy and apply tactics according to the weaknesses determined in his posture and mental attitude. Iman compared his demonstration of hypnosis, in which we had mutually participated, directly with combative ability to attack me without a chance of successful defense on my part.

However explainable, Iman's demonstrations had been convincing. The hypnosis of which he speaks perhaps exists, but at least he was

applying an optimum level of a "sixth sense" (akin to the Japanese martial art quality of *sen-sen no sen*). Iman continued and by analogy he revealed the product of training in SETIA HATI TERATE: "If we walk along the street and suddenly an object such as a ball strikes us, we are startled; we may even feel pain due to its impact. However, if we were beforehand prepared for that eventuality and if we additionally see the ball coming, we are not startled, nor do we experience the slightest pain." SETIA HATI TERATE endeavors to prepare its trainees for all circumstances in combat. By means of this preparation, it develops a mental set or readiness of a high order.

SETIA HATI TERATE expounds lofty ideals and plans to spread its teachings to all interested societies, for their betterment. Its popularity is confined to Muslims in Indonesia, and it has gathered intellectual support. All exponents are visually identified by a system of colors worn on display as sashes around their practice costumes. The lowest color is a blank or neutral shade; pink, green, and white follow in ascending orders of skill. On reaching the white belt one is considered to have completed the first grade of skill. The second grade is an intermediate achievement level and the third is the highest possible award. Iman was such an expert.

Near the Maduin area of East Java is a dominant rural *pentjak-silat* style of the Ponorogo village called DELIMA. Named after a kind of fruit, this fighting form was founded by a man named Binpadgar. Its tactics have become the common property of all inhabitants of the Ponorogo area; even small children are seen to practice its techniques. A real freedom of expression is permitted by this form. The result has been a comprehensive, realistic, and martially balanced combative development. Styled first in 1943 to be employed against the Dutch colonialists on Java, DELIMA today refrains from nationalistic appeals.

DELIMA *silat* is based on a substantial amount of kicking, largely heel thrusts from a pivotal rear-facing position; these techniques recall its Chinese ancestry. Sickle actions of the legs also are favored from *depok* and *sempok* positions. An expert, such as Binpadgar, can whirl about like a champion ice skater with one leg extended from a crouch (Fig. 33). Rear kicks are almost always double action—one last kick coming after a very slight delay from the initial kick. The operator never bothers to reface his enemy after the first kick, but seeks immediately to rekick and then steps away fast before turning to face the enemy.

Open hands are favored (sometimes semiclenched fists) over closed fists and are used for deception in graceful movements. All anatomical weaknesses of the enemy are exploited and no area is favored over any other.

There is much leaping and dodging done in connection with the movements designed to defeat an enemy, all appearing to be tiring if performed for protracted periods of time; the ability required by this system is anticipatory of weapons attacks.

33. Two views showing the whirling-leg sickle kick from a *depok* position, a Delima *silat* technique demonstrated by Binpadgar.

34. The *pedang* of Delima *silat*.

35. *Toya* action in Delima *silat*.

36. Training with the *pedang* in Delima *silat*.

Weapons in the DELIMA *silat* system repertoire center on the use of the *toya* and the *pedang* (Fig. 34), a short sword. The tactics involving the *toya* depend upon an almost baton-twirling type skill. Quarter-staff striking, pushing, blocking, and parrying actions are used, with little reversal of the staff considered necessary. The expert operator can revolve the staff, operating it around its center of balance, like a propeller; he can balance it on his head, shoulders, back, arms, and even his thighs as it revolves at a fast rate (Fig. 35). The *pedang* is not unlike a *machete,* being principally an agricultural tool. This weapon is used in the fashion of empty-hand actions. Usual training pits the use of the *toya*, *pedang*, and empty-hand actions against one another in varying combinations (Figs. 36–38). All training begins early. Both boys and girls (Fig. 39) participate, and by the age of twelve they have mastered the empty-hand fundamentals from which weapons employments must be applied. Training sessions last about two hours and the average native trains four hours per week; agricultural and domestic chores preclude more dedication.

37. The *toya* versus the *pedang* in Delima *silat* training.

38. Empty-hand action versus the *pedang* in Delima *silat* training.

39. Girls training in Delima *silat*.

40. The *rante* of Delima *silat*.

41. Whirling the *rante*.

Practice combat witnessed the fact that the staff is a weapon of advantage over the *pedang*. Because of its length the staff delivered heavy blows to the bladesman attempting to enter for the "kill." However, the staff operator was forced several times to leap high in the air to avoid low slashes. The blade operator suffered numerous blows to his body in the process.

Among the Chinese-inherited weapons of DELIMA *silat* is a special one, the *rante*, or weighted chain. Its length is equivalent to that of the staff and all techniques are those of the staff. Centrifugal force keeps the chain stiff and straight in flight patterns as it approximates the staff in whirling about, obeying similar laws. The spinning chain is a blurred object as it hums through the air. The expert balances it and moves it around his anatomy just like the staff. A juggling skill is needed to make this weapon effective. Most favored lengths of the *rante* are from five to six feet, with about two-ounce weights fastened to each end (Figs. 40, 41). The linkage is of one-quarter inch circular or elliptical-patterned iron rings.

DELIMA *silat* has not considered the necessity of a ranking system. With a purely combative purpose, it is common knowledge in the village who the masters are (the strongest fighters) and they make all the remaining exponents students. The training costume is not unlike the usual *pentjak-silat* costume insofar as cut of cloth is concerned. Called *toneel,* it is, however, brightly colored, using green trousers and a white blouselike jacket with red piping. An orange sash holds the jacket closed.

East Java *pentjak-silat* styles, such as SUCHI HATI (holy heart) and STAR (English meaning is literal) which actually stem from Central Java, have some popularity. They emphasize the *beladiri,* or "protection/defense of self," type of combat which offers no sporting applications. The national organization, Silat Organasi (S.O.), is located in Surabaja. Originally *pentjak-silat* experts and their various styles founded an organization, in 1920, which attempted to combine the various Muslim systems. They enjoyed no national prestige until 1947, when they joined S.O. Under the technical guidance of Ali Al-habsi, these systems too emphasize the *beladiri* aspect of *pentjak-silat.*

Perhaps the *pentjak-silat* form gaining most popularity and national acclaim is that of the PERISAI DIRI (PRISAI DIRI). The name implies "self-shield" and is most commonly referred to as P.D. It is a modern generative cognate of Central Java *pentjak-silat* styles. Though a modern movement with its beginning in 1955, its technical and philosophical roots must be understood to stem from antiquity. It is argued that its origin was Jogjakarta in Central Java, but efforts there were soon termed "imperfect start" and general credit must be given to the founder, living in the Surabaja area, R.M.S. Dirdjoatmodjo (Fig. 42), who gave P.D. its vital essence. He is regarded as a *pandekar.*

P.D. is a synthesis of various *pentjak-silat* styles but stands aloof from taking onto its technical self the foreign ideas of Japanese judo, *aikidō, karate-dō,* and *jūjutsu* as well as Western boxing tactics that have influenced many *pentjak-silat* forms today. P.D. restricts itself to legitimate indigenous *pentjak-silat* tactics, confident that among those lie sufficient responses for all combative situations. It is, however, almost completely devoid of West Java and Menangkabau tactics involving the *depok* and *sempok* postures.

Considerable national support is given to P.D. in the form of recognition of its tactics as the basis of self-defense training for army, navy, and marine personnel. P.D. boasts some 75,000 members throughout Indonesia. Headed by eight master teachers (*maha guru*) and a host of other teachers (*guru*), P.D. has international branches in France and Italy.

Its exponents are identified by the traditional use of the short trousers with leg lengths extending halfway below the knees; the jacket is lapelless and the sleeves are just above the wrists. The color of all costumes is white for experts and black for trainees. The black color was exclusive to the noble warrior class in ancient and medieval times.

42. R. M. S. Dirdjoatmodjo, the founder of Perisai Diri.

The *jurus*, or "fundamentals," are the basis of P.D. training. They are required of the trainee in a progressive fashion and teach him to employ widely spaced footings to develop strength and flexibility in hips and legs. More advanced experts, however, are recognized by the narrowness of their stances. There is very little use of the *kuda-kuda* (similar to the Japanese *karate-dō kiba-dachi*) so commonly used in West Java styles, though it is recalled that in the younger days of P.D. style all teachers insisted on its use.

Straight-line striking is valued; the fist is "screwed in" as it approaches its target. Thrusting, striking, blocking, covering, parrying, and distracting with arm-and-hand actions follow a "half-movement" or restricted action of the hands. Kicking is primarily made in straight-line fashion, deliveries being made to front or rear; some pivotal kicking is managed. No so-called round-house kicks are employed, such as in the fashion of *mawashi-geri* of Japanese *karate-dō*. Emphasis is placed on thrust-kicking with the heel, testifying to some Chinese roots. Some terms used to identify P.D. tactics are:

bukulan—to strike with the fist
tendangan—to kick or knee
tepisan—to parry
totok—to thrust with foreknuckle (thumb support), delivering the action first to the solar plexus and then sliding the thrust into the throat area by continuing the force upward

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Kicking actions are identified by a variety of tactics. The basic one is the *te* (western Sumatran origin with a Chinese root); the *teratai*, or the Shaolin "lotus-flower" kick; the *gedjelig*, or "down-thrust kick with the whole foot"; the *lingsang*, or "otter kick"; the *sabit*, or "side-to-side kick" (sometimes known as an instep kick); the *selosor*, or "snap-kick frontal to groin"; the *sabit tumit*, or "heel thrust"; and *susulan*, or "reverse sickle-heel kick," are all more advanced tactics to P.D. trainees. The last named is a very effective and dangerous western Sumatran method.

Peculiar tactics of P.D. include the *pau* (pronounced pow) which is a shoulder block made forceful by economic breathing; the *serangan pantat*, or "buttock attack," by which a rear-oriented opponent is first butted with a bump from the gluteus muscles (reported on as "Macedonian Buttock" by J. Gilbey in *Secret Fighting Arts of the World*) and as he doubles up, the back of the operator's head is thrust directly backward into the opponent's face. The *melingkar* or *kebelakang* is a wide pivoting action around the side of the enemy which is evasive and preliminary to counterattacking (Fig. 43).

Like many of the Indonesian combative measures P.D. movements are derived from the study of nature, especially animal responses and actions. Mechanics of movement and the stances from which all movements derive are scientifically designed. Movement is more straight-line than that seen in most other *pentjak-silat* forms, and is made to harmonize with the stance and displacements of the enemy. Postures in P.D. are identified as:

1) *meliwis*—swallow
2) *garuda*—eagle
3) *harimau*—tiger
4) *lingsang*—otter
5) *setria*—patriot
6) *setria hutan*—patriot-forest
7) *kuda kuningan*—horse
8) *naga*—dragon
9) *pendita*—priest
10) *putri*—princess (lady)
    a) *putri bersedia*—ladies in preparation
    b) *putri sembhyang*—worshiping ladies
    c) *putri berhias*—ladies dressing
    d) *putri sepasang*—pair of flowers
11) *burung kuntul*—crane positioned on one leg with body in a "T" formation

Pentjak-silat's standard weapons all find use in P.D. In training the *pedang*, the short sword, utilizes the Chinese *chien* (straight blade, double cutting edged) variety (Fig. 44). But it is in the special weapons cate-

43. Evasion and counterattack using the *melingkar*.

44. The use of Chinese swords (*chien*) in Perisai Diri.

gory that strange and effective weapons are also found (Fig. 45). The *roti kalong*, a "knuckle-duster" weapon not unlike the head of the World War I trench knife, is a special weapon. The *tekken* and the *arbir* are two more. The former appears to be a walking cane; the latter, a halberd-type weapon (see PERISAI DIRI, Chapter 4, p. 178).

P.D. uses the prearranged form method for training. It is spoken of as *rahasia* (secrets) and is used to mold the precise responses to combative situations. It is similar in nature to the Japanese *kata*. Training sessions are usually one hour in duration, twice a week for the first year, after that once a week is considered sufficient.

P.D. trainees must build: 1) technical precision; 2) speed; 3) reaction time; 4) power (physical strength); 5) patience, and 6) quiessence. In this order of precedence the trainees develop to maturity in the system. The search for these achievements begins by basic mechanical drills in posture, striking, kicking, evading, blocking, parrying, covering, and other exercises, all performed without weapons; weapons are added later as the empty-hand skills appear sound. Attention is given to the development of "outer strength," that is, the development of the physical muscles of the body by continuous practice. No resistive exercises are performed except those of a quasi-isometric nature performed around stances and postures wherein gravity is the resistance. Last to develop in the trainees is the "inner power," the spiritual strength which is the mark of the master (*pandekar*).

P.D. exponents demonstrate their concentration by regarding the enemy's body as an inverted triangle, apex at the enemy's groin. The midsection of this triangle receives the greatest concentration of the attack (Fig. 46). The P.D. expert will stare directly at the enemy's midsection while engaged in combat with him, and generally avoids eye contact.

At the base of every physical action in P.D. is breathing, or *gwakang* (*gowakang*), made to outer-strengthen the body (unify it) and to improve timing of responses. The breathing is related to meditational aspects which stem from the heart (not the *tanden* as is the case in Japanese martial-art tradition). P.D. speaks of the "five centers of spirituality" (*lima bokok*), symbolically represented and to be seen in the organizational emblem by five stars arranged in pentagonal form (*kebathinan*).

On the island of Madura, lying just off the northeastern corner of Java, resides a group of people (Madurese) who are renowned all over Indonesia as skilled and fearless fighters. Of a volatile personality, the Madurese do not hesitate to take recourse to the blade. Their standard *pentjak-silat* form is Pamur, founded in 1951 by Hasan Hubudin, who is today regarded as a *pandekar*. Pamur makes its headquarters at the residence of Hasan Hubudin in Pamekasan.

The Pamur system is a synthesis product based on a great variety of *pentjak-silat* forms, especially those of Sumatra (*silat* Melayu and Menangkabau). It borrows some of its technical intricacies from Chinese

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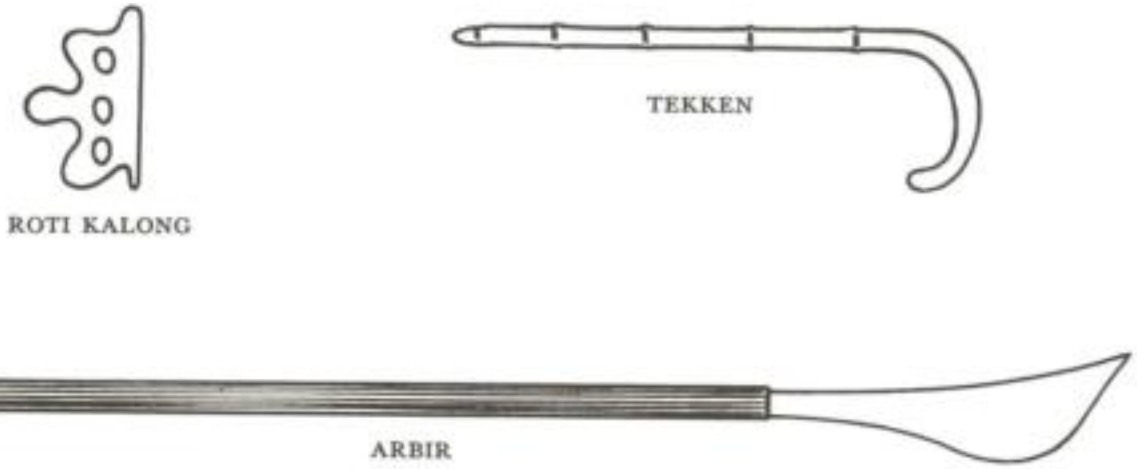
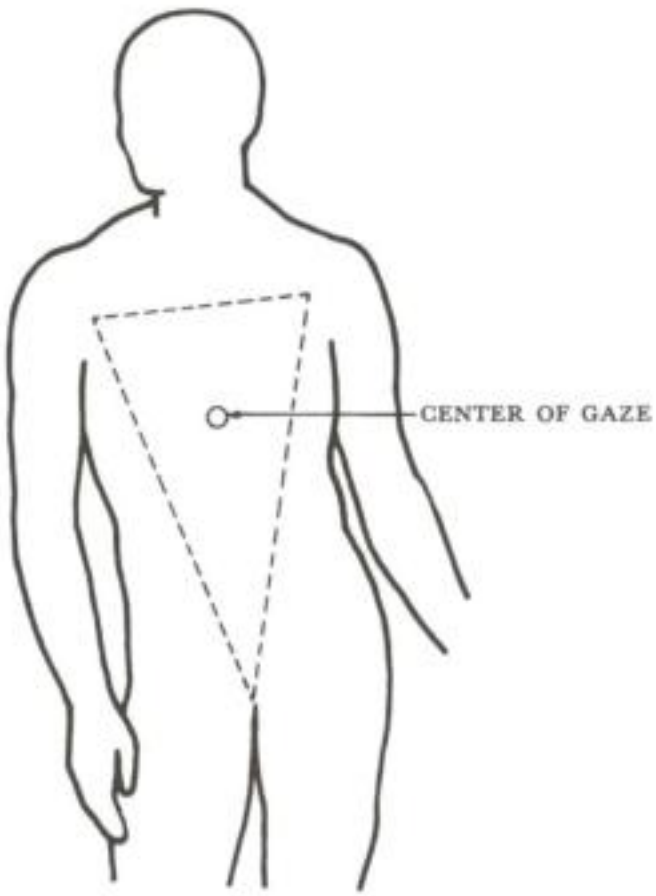


45. Special weapons of Perisai Diri *silat*.



46. The area of concentration of attack in Perisai Diri *silat*.

kuntao. Pamur *silat* is combatively well balanced and permits no sporting applications. It further makes use of all standard weapons of *pentjak-silat* plus the local agricultural tools, such as the *arit* (sickle) types that have been given combative missions.

The emblem of Pamur is a shield with a *kris* in the central position (an undulate blade). On the left of the *kris* is the cotton plant; to the right lies the rice plant. Both of these vegetable-life forms symbolize life-giving substance. Thus combined with the mystic power of the *kris*, the emblem is symbolic of the strength and elastic unity of the system it represents.

The Pamur *silat* style is termed *pentjak aneka tan muda rasionil*, or "new generation *pentjak* rationale." It is based on a technical bivalency of mental and physical techniques. The former are given to trainees only after the latter are mastered and then only to those of the highest moral character. However well knit the system is, it is not yet considered by its founder as finalized. Active study is still being conducted with a view toward widening its technical structure.

Hassan Hubudin defines *pentjak* as *pentjak gerakan diri jangteratur*, or "regulated self-defense movement"; *silat* is defined as *silat gerakan pumbelan diri bebas*, or "freedom in self-defense movement." This implies *pentjak* is a means of partner training in a regulated manner to avoid injuries, but nevertheless setting the functional form for the technical base of self-defense methods. Thus *pentjak* is somewhat analogous to Japanese *kata*. *Silat* connotes for Hassan either a self-practice with complete freedom of expression or an actual engagement with an enemy; it is thus akin to the Japanese *shinken shobu*. As pointed out earlier, there can be no *silat* without *pentjak; pentjak* unless directed toward functional self-defense is purposeless.

Pamur *silat* is categorized accordingly:

isi (feeling)
1) *tangkapan*—to catch the enemy
2) *bantingang*—to throw the enemy
3) *sambut pukui*—to evade, parry, and strike
4) *pombas mian*—to kill as a final decision

dasar (fundamentals, of which there are twelve each)
1) *jurus*—the step-by-step elements
2) *alis plarian*—to dodge and escape
3) *kamasukan*—the successful entry into the enemy's defense
4) *harimau*—the tiger movements such as *harimau kumbang*, or tiger and elephant

The *tangkapan* is the most important element in the Pamur system. It is performed with the open hand, fingers controlling the wrist-arm of the enemy. The body is turned or maneuvered to avoid the main attacking

47. Weight on both legs in a Maduran Pamur *silat* stance.

48. The kick used in Maduran Pamur *silat*.

force of the enemy. Timing action for this tactic is acute. The killing action (*pombas mian*) is only a last resort when the preceding three (*isi*) have failed.

Only the most physically conditioned can perform Pamur tactics beyond five minutes. The system is highly acrobatic and energetically practiced. Considerable use of *depok* and *sempok* positions positively relate Pamur to Sumatran (*silat* Melayu, Menangkabau, and Atjeh) styles.

All stances employ double weighting of the legs (Fig. 47) and in displacements, the feet are slid over the terrain as much as is possible; evasion and speed are qualities sought. Little reliance is placed on physical strength or resistance to aggression. The underlying mechanical principle is to move and shift on a circular orbit to avoid strength climaxes with the enemy and to avoid ending power by dissipation. The use of *gulgul* (a type of percussion music) is sometimes heard, but is not essential.

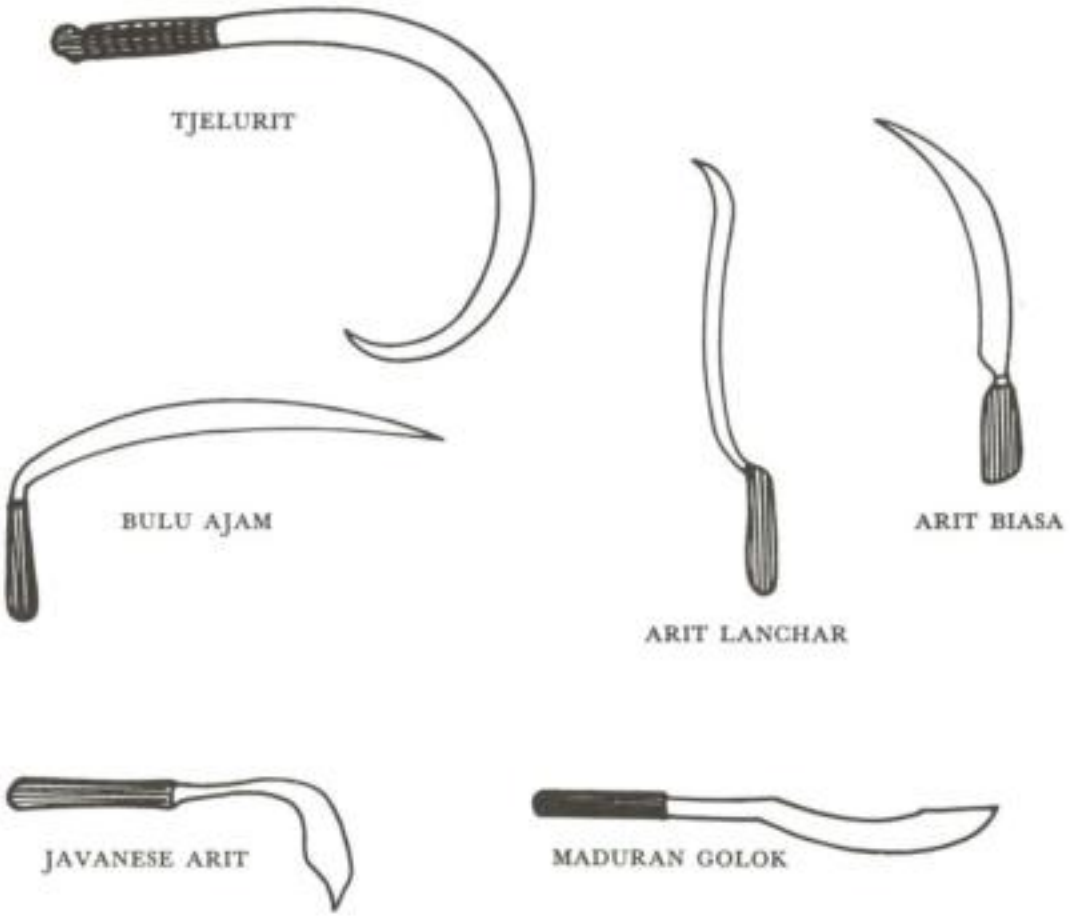
Pamur kicking tactics are many and forceful, as most came from Menangkabau *silat* styles. They are delivered accurately from various positions (Fig. 48), even from *depok* and *sempok* positions, which are quickly abandoned to deliver the kick.

49. The *tjabang* of Pamur *silat*.

Standard weapons of *pentjak-silat* identify synthesis usage. The staff (*toya*) is used both with fixed and sliding hand positions (characteristic of *silat* Melayu and Javanese styles, respectively). Movements for pushing, blocking, and striking favor fixed hand positions. Some use of one-handed gripping at the end of the staff permits it to be swung down against the feet of the enemy in a beating action. There is little use of reversal action for striking with alternate ends of the staff. The *tjabang* (Fig. 49), the forked truncheon weapon, is skillfully applied and chosen to fit the operator by measuring the shaft to the exact length of the operator's forearm. The shape of this weapon's tines shows more rectangularly set shoulders than is usual for Javanese types; there is some similarity to southern Celebes *tjabang* design. The space between the shaft and the tines is large enough to accommodate a *toya* shaft or the wrist.

Local-area-type weapons (Fig. 50) include some indigenous to Madura and some which have been transferred from other areas. The *arit*, or sickle weapon, has many variations on Madura. The *tjelurit*;[5] the *bulu ajam* (chicken feather); the *arit lanchar* (fluent); and the *arit biasa* (common) are some of the most well-known types in use. They are all generally longer and more curved in blade design than the *arit* of Java. Sickle tactics employ both the single blade or two, one held in each hand. By a continuous series of circular criss-cross patterns of swinging, this vicious blade is difficult to defend against; combined with the *pisau* (Fig. 51) few venture to combat against it. The deadly *arit* can be swung over the shoulder (Fig. 52), under the armpit, or between the legs to catch a rear-closing enemy off guard. The *kĕlewang* is used (Fig. 53), but sparingly so; tactics employ only one such sword. The Maduran *golok* (see Fig. 50) possesses a slight difference in design from its West Java counterpart. Its reverse cutting edge is convex and adds to its effectiveness.

5. Joseph Kadjang Amerta, Indonesian combative authority, believes that this weapon originated as an agricultural tool in the Banjuwangi area of East Java (Menteler Bay) and is a transferred weapon in Madura.



50. Local weapons used in Pamur *silat* in Madura.

51. The *arit* used with the *pisau* in Pamur *silat*.

52. The single *arit* technique of Pamur *silat*.

Special weapons (Figs. 54, 55) are many in Pamur *silat*. Notable are the *kudi*, wickedly shaped knives which conjure up terrible visions of their destructiveness. The Muslim *tjaluk lapar* (hungry *tjaluk*) adds still more terror to the Maduran blade arsenal, as does the Arab *jambia*. The *pisau belati* (see Fig. 80) is usually considered standard weaponry for *pentjak-silat*. But in Pamur style it is a special weapon with a special name—*todi*. The *todi* can take various shapes and sizes, but is used with great skill and is the most feared of all Madurese weapons and can be employed with other weapons, such as the *kris*.

The mystic element in *pentjak-silat* is exemplified in the personage of Pamur *pandekar* Hassan. He relates that it is mostly nondemonstrable and that it can be both positive and negative in form. The mystic power of the *pandekar* of Pamur *silat* can place a "spell" on the enemy, or cause him great difficulties in an encounter with a Pamur exponent. Hassan himself witnessed (1967) the *pandekar* Daeng Pelalo being wrapped up tightly in a roll of rush matting. Five men then repeatedly stabbed their blades into the roll. Daeng emerged unharmed!

53. The use of the *kělewang* in Pamur *silat*.

54. Special weapons used in Maduran Pamur *silat*.

MUSLIM TJALUK LAPAR

ARAB JAMBIA

KRIS

55. Various Marduran *kudi* used in Pamur *silat*.

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■ Kuntao

The Chinese word *kuntao* is commonly known and understood all over the length and breadth of the vast Indonesian Archipelago. It is a name greatly respected by even the most self-centered native societies, thus testifying to the extent of the transplantation of this Chinese combative entity in Indonesia.

Kuntao is the Hokkien word used to describe various Chinese fighting systems which range over the entire spectrum of hand-to-hand combative measures, that is, systems which embrace both empty-hand (Fig. 56) and weaponed fighting tactics. A great variety of weapons is utilized (Fig. 57).

Octogenarian Djie Siauw Foe of Semarang in Central Java is a *kuntao* master teacher, one of the last of the old breed. He insists that the pace of modern living does not allow any master teacher (and only master teachers should teach) to develop a creditable student. "People are lazy and too preoccupied with making a living," says Djie, and therefore he flatly refuses to instruct anyone; all are considered by him as "unworthy" of his efforts. But there is, in spite of Djie, much *kuntao* to be seen in Indonesia. *Kuntao* is very secretively practiced and is not openly displayed in its full technical wholeness. That which is displayed is usually not the true form. However, that which can be viewed by invitation made by a *kuntao* master is excellent, and Java is the best place to see it.

To better understand *kuntao* it is well to turn to the translation of the Chinese ideograms (there is no standard ideogram for the word *kuntao*) that may be assigned to this word. *Kun* may be read as "fist" and *toa* as "way." The word thus implies the manner of employing the fist.

Fukien (Hokkien), Shantung, Kongfu,[6] and Khe (Canton) *kuntao* styles dominate all others on Java and Madura. The *kuntao* of West Java centers on Djakarta, which has a predominantly Fukien style. Systems such as the THIT KUN, or "straight style," characterized by its evasive, light and soft actions, changing to hard contact and the throwing of the enemy, are seen in abundance here. The throwing techniques of THIT KUN are always made from the rear or side of the victim. The TANG KIOK system is similar, but a less upright posture is employed, especially in precontact sparring. Upon contact, throws are executed from directly in front of or beside the victim. Some THAY LOHAN TJIE, or "hands of a big-great man," systems, using short hand actions, crouching stances, and finger jabs directed at the weak points of the victim's anatomy, may be witnessed. PA KUA systems flourish, and are functional.[7]

6. Not to be confused with the expression *kung-fu* (*gung-fu*), the highly misunderstood term so popular in the West. Refer to *Asian Fighting Arts* by Donn F. Draeger and Robert W. Smith (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1969) for a correct definition.

7. An excellent reference on the subject is Robert W. Smith's *Pa Kua* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1967).

56. Empty-hand *kuntao* technique.

The KAU KOEN (KOW KUN) forms are identified by the on-toes postures, kicks delivered by toe points, jumping side-to-side maneuvers, crouching postures, and the grabbing actions directed toward a victim's throat and testicles. The hands are held in close and used in clawing actions similar to those made by an enraged monkey. It is from this latter unique characteristic that the systems are sometimes referred to as "monkey" systems. The PEH HO (PAI HAO), or stork systems, use big flapping actions of the arms in imitation of the beating wings of that bird. All movements are circular and often made from one-legged stances, in a fluttering rhythm. THAY KEK, as it is spoken of in Cantonese, better known in the Mandarin dialect as *ta'i-chi ch'üan,* is also present in abundant styles in Djakarta; the shortened or abbreviated forms are the least popular.

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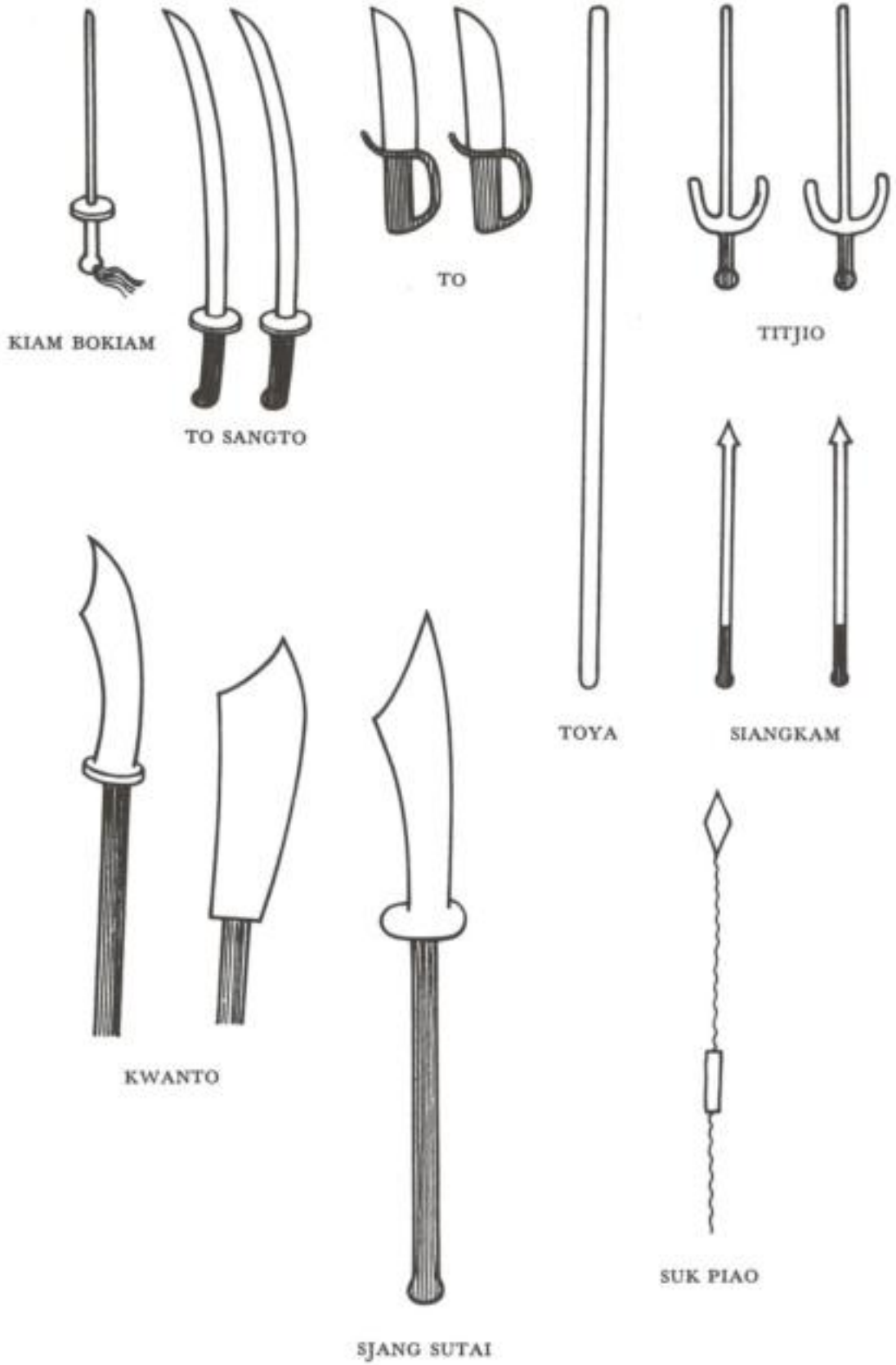
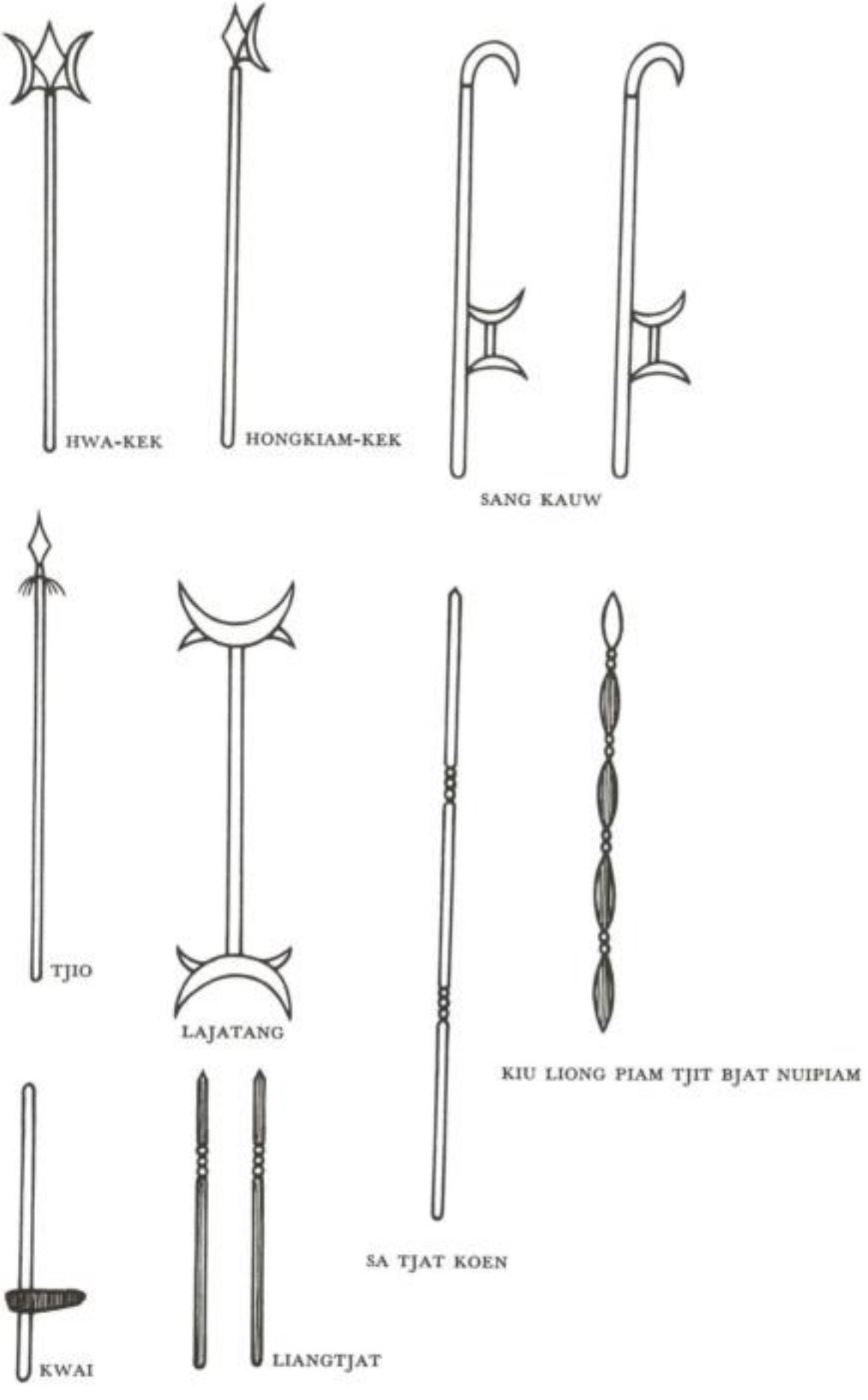


57. Standard weaponry of *kuntao* (see also facing page).


HWA-KEK
HONGKIAM-KEK
SANG KAUW
TJIO
LAJATANG
KIU LIONG PIAM TJIT BJAT NUIPIAM
SA TJAT KOEN
KWAI
LIANGTJAT

Shantung *kuntao* styles in Djakarta are Shaolin derivatives, and also extend across Java and Madura. They are easily identified by the formation of the fist which invariably positions the thumbs on top of the clenched fingers. Shantung stylists take and maintain as much left stance (left foot advanced) as possible precontact (Fig. 58), and it is this outstanding characteristic which marks them apart from the frontal and right stances of Fukien (Hokkien) fighters (Fig. 59).[8] Shantung actions employ many high-kicking, floor-rolling, and leaping tactics; short and long arm actions are also used.

KHE systems demonstrate their energetic flailing arm movements, high-speed actions, and subtle movements of hands in open and semiclenched formations for parrying and blocking. KONGFU style *kuntao* uses static postures. Rigidity in movement is its theme. Its popularity is diminished by the need for complete dedication to its teachings and the relegation of all else to a secondary position.

Tjoa Kek Kiong, a master of a great number of *kuntao* forms, is perhaps the most widely experienced expert in Djakarta. As a senior master teacher of *kuntao,* he instructs in various pure styles, with Fukien and Shantung types his forte. Additionally, he has made his own study and has developed, with broad-minded vision, a synthesis system which borrows from Japanese judo, *jūjutsu, karate-dō,* and *aikidō.* Fusing these foreign ideas with *kuntao* tactics, Tjoa has produced an interesting system which is both highly functional and popular in West Java.

Some notes of interest are explained by Tjoa's discussion of Fukien *kuntao* fundamentals. All Fukien stances were derived by watching the behavior of animals fighting and the mannerisms of human beings. Even the adoption of motions made by a newborn child have served as the basis of stances in *kuntao* systems, as have the unsteady waverings of an intoxicated person. Opposed to the low crouch (*depok* and *sempok* of *pentjak-silat*) of some *kuntao* styles, Fukien forms are confined to normal-spaced and natural stances called *ting* and *pa. Ting* is graphically illustrated by the ideogram 丁 and *pa* by 八. *Ting* is the stance often explained as the "triangle stance" (seen commonly in Japanese *aikidō*), while *pa* is the normal feet-on-line stance (the *shizentai* and *shizenhontai* of Kodokan judo). Built within each stance is the instant and automatic change from one to the other.

Tjoa remarked on the expression of *kung-fu,* which has been confused and erroneously used (by Western advocates of Chinese combatives) as the name of a combative system or style of fighting; no *kuntao* master he had ever known was guilty of such a misuse of the word. The word must, plain and simple, be confined to any effort of training, labor, dedication, and persistence that produces a creditable result. The correct term for such sustained effort in the martial arts is *wu kung.*

8. These stances are said to have developed from the custom of Shantung and Fukien spearsmen. The former engages his spear from a left stance, spear at his right side, while the latter positions just opposite to that stance.

58. Shangung *kuntao* style left stance.

59. Fukien (Hokkien) *kuntao* style frontal stance.

The history of *kuntao* development in Indonesia is clouded by many factors which make research difficult. The fondness of the Chinese for fable and hyperbole may have, according to Tjoa, some basis in fact. He related the traditional story of how TJINGKRIK (a West Java *pentjak-silat*) was in reality a "monkey" style of *kuntao*. It was developed, according to tradition, by a woman who, upon being beaten by an angry husband, was able to defend herself to the amazement of her spouse. She later told him that she had learned how to defend herself by watching the antics of monkeys. From the actions of his wife, the husband was able to develop a "monkey" style of *kuntao*.

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Has a *pentjak-silat* fighter ever met a *kuntao* expert, and if so, what was the result? Tjoa cautions that such a delicate issue must always be conditioned by the bias of personal pride and any declared outcome is relative to the racial attitude of him who makes the report. He cited the traditional story of the alleged development of a *pentjak-silat* style called KWITANG (see p. 48). The KWITANG style is claimed by some Muslims to have been the result of the efforts of a Muslim priest named Kjai. In his victory over a Chinese drug peddler named Kwee Tang Kiam, he posited a name for his style using his defeated opponent's name. The Chinese take the opposite stand. How else can the obviously Chinese name of the system be logically explained than by seeing Kwee, who was also a *kuntao* master, defeat priest Kjai? The Muslim version has Kwee converting to the Muslim faith to follow his new master. The Chinese further insist that the appearance of KWITANG *silat* in the Senen area was due to Kwee marrying an Indonesian woman and settling there. He taught a great many native non-Chinese his art. The only thing certain about either story is that at one time a person named Kwee was involved in this *silat* form; this is borne out because neither the Muslim nor Chinese debate it.

■ Other Weapons and Systems

In Indonesia, by reputation, there is no more sanguinary a bladed weapon than the *kris*,[9] that strangely shaped, double-edged dagger designed primarily for thrusting. The *kris* is at once a weapon, an ornament, and an object of cult. The *tasawwaf*, or "mystic lore," and talismanic values assigned to this instrument of death are all abundantly recorded.

All *kris* have *hantu*, or "spirit," and many are capable of *tuju*, or "sorcery by pointing." Such qualities are implanted by the secret and mystic forging process in the hands of the *pande*, or "expert," as the smith is called, but may only be brought into function by the owner. A *kris* might kill a victim by simply being pointed at him; by invoking sympathetic magic it might also kill by being stabbed into the victim's shadow or his footprints. Legends tell of the *kris* rattling in the owner's sheath to warn him of approaching danger. Still other stories relate how an owner's *kris* lept from its sheath to fight for the owner. By other supernatural powers a *kris* may draw fire, that is, bring a fire from its source of burning to another disconnected area. There are those natives who insist that the *kris* can turn wild animals in their tracks.

In spite of these and still other legends about the *kris* which the Westerner may dismiss as farfetched stories without basis in fact, the *kris* is a very real weapon. It can be said to be the national weapon of Java. W. H. Rassers explains that:

9. Also spelled *kĕris*, *criss*, *creese*, *creis*, *crise*, *querix*, *crisi*, and *cris*.

> . . . the *kris* is an organic part of Indonesian culture, and, as far as we can tell from our knowledge of facts, of this culture alone. . . . No one has ever succeeded, notwithstanding all the trouble that has been taken, in locating as indigenous property anywhere outside of the Archipelago a weapon that could be given the name of "kris"; in the Archipelago on the other hand and especially in Java, it is one of the most characteristic elements of culture. Java without the *kris* would be Java no longer.[10]

The Javanese identifies a wide variety of different kinds of *kris*, taking into account details of size, shape, and workmanship of the weapon. To the uninitiated such distinguishing differences are imperceptible or at best, obscure in meaning. Sir Stamford Raffles has catalogued some forty types of Javanese *kris* on one hundred varieties.[11]

The *kris* is pre-eminently male.[12] Tradition has it that every male Javanese should possess a *kris* . . . and on certain occasions, be seen with it. For the Javanese, the *kris* represents his tutelary spirit, his connection with his divine ancestry. Symbolically it implies the mark of a tribal hero-warrior. The *kris* is a mark of distinction without which no Javanese feels a complete personality. It is a part of his daily dress, and in its absence the Javanese is without self-confidence. The old *adat* (law) required that every father furnish his son with a *kris* when the latter reached the age of manhood; it was only by this act that the son became a man.

But not every *kris* suits every Javanese. In the selection process, the power of the *kris* is extremely important to the prospective owner; inheriting the *kris* is preferable to buying one. The power of the *kris* is not a fixed quality peculiar to the *kris* itself but rather of a specific nature only in accord with the personal characteristics of the owner. Then too, certain types of blades and grips can only be chosen by certain classifications of man; all choices are bridled with criteria established by society. J. E. Jasper and Mas Pirngadie (1930) write:

> It is easy to understand that where not only the weapon but the whole work of the smith as well is wrapped in such mystery, the shape and the motifs used for the damascening of the weapon have also acquired special significance and so every wearer of a kris has chosen for his weapon a shape and a pamor motive

10. "On the Javanese Kris" (Undated monograph).

11. *The History of Java* (Oxford in Asia. 2 vols., London, 1830).

12. One legend informs that the origin of the *kris* lies in the phallus of a divine ancestor: Sunan Benang, an *orang wali*, would not beget children and refrained from sexual intercourse. He removed his sexual organ and made it into the *kris* Kyai Kala Munjeng which was thenceforth a family heirloom. The *orang wali* were the religious ascetics of ancient times.

which, in connection with different circumstances, have been selected by him as the most suitable, the most auspicious.[13]

The shape and size of the *kris* vary within a very wide latitude, depending upon the geographical area and the mission for which the blade was designed. The Javanese *kris* is the most typical. It is usually from twelve to twenty inches in overall length. Two unique features make the *kris* totally different from all other weapons: the sudden widening of the blade just below the base, which is set at not quite right angles to it; the fact that in all but the earliest one-piece (blade-handle) models, the blade is not set firmly to the handle.

The most valuable part of the *kris* is the blade (*mata kris*). For scholars such as G. C. Griffith-Williams, the size and shape of the blade are the only basic quality.[14] Blades may be straight (*dapur bener*) or undulate (*dapur luq* or *dapur parung*) (Fig. 60). The former design characteristic represents a state of static rest, the latter, action personified; both blade forms are representative of the serpent, a cannibalistic deity. All old-model original *kris* were forged with straight-line blades. The wavy design, according to G. B. Gardner, is a design feature adopted from Indian weapons.[15] Gardner has suggested that a primitive Indian weapon made from an ibex horn, and later, steel daggers utilizing this wavy-shape characteristic, gave the Indonesians the idea for a wavy blade. A. H. Hill questions this generalization on the basis that the ibex horn shows a spiral while the *kris* waves are flat planed.[16]

The deadliness of a *kris* in combat increases with the number of waves it possesses. A wavy blade makes a larger wound, and can penetrate more readily between bones. The number of waves (*luq*) in the blade is calculated by counting the number of times the blade turns inward toward the longitudinal axis from the base of the blade to its tip. The number is always odd. A. M. K. de Does limits the undulations from three to thirteen,[17] but some *kris* exist that exhibit as many as twenty-nine. The cross section of the blade may be elliptical, diamond shaped, almost flat, or a series of shallow-stepped graduations in relief patterns. Sometimes a narrow channel runs the length of the blade on both sides, or there may simply be a one-sided two-parallel-channels design separated by a raised rib. The blade of the *kris* is most often possessed with cracks, said to have mystic qualities, but more likely an explanation to downplay the lack of the smith's skill.

The raised collar guard (*ganja*) usually forms the base of the blade (Fig. 61). In the earliest models, the *ganja* was fashioned as one piece

13. *De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indië,* Vol. V (1930).

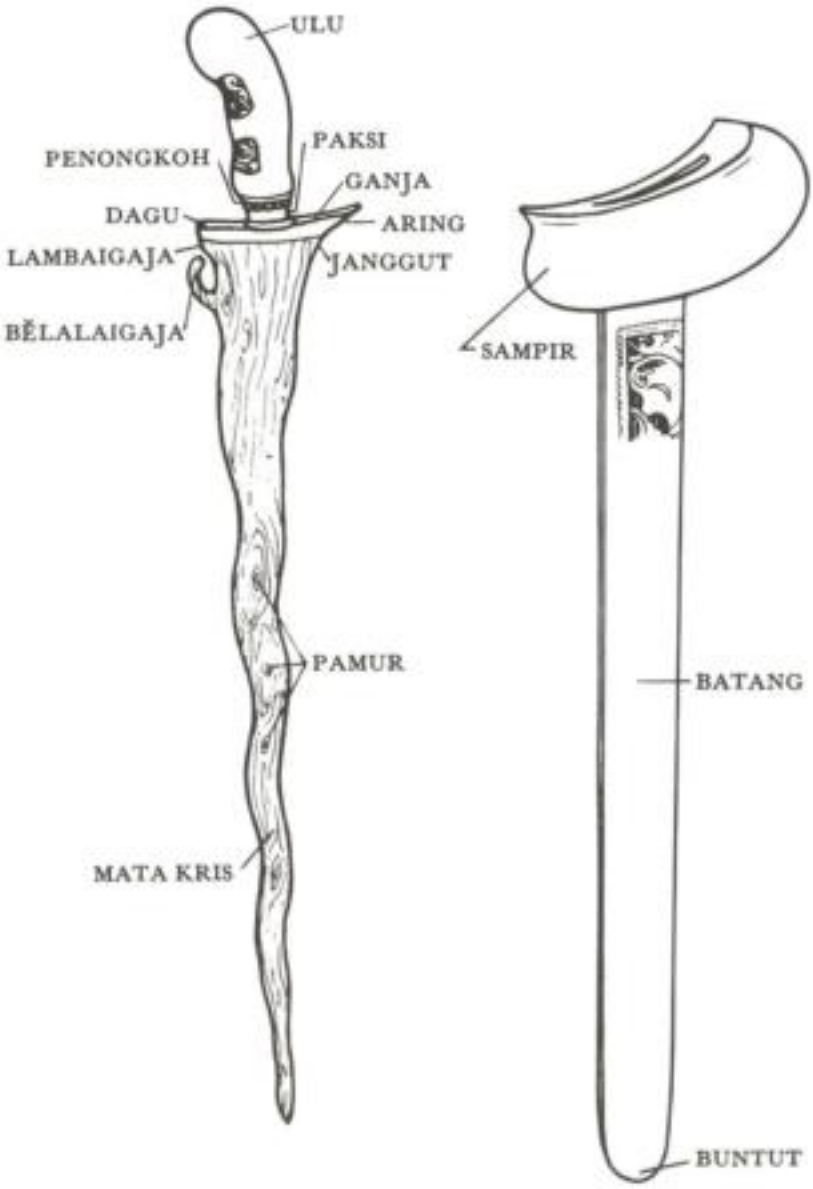
14. *Suggested Origin of the Malay Keris* (Singapore, 1937).

15. *Keris and Other Malay Weapons* (Singapore, 1936).

16. *The Malay Keris and Other Weapons* (Singapore, 1962).

17. *Toestand der Nijverheid in Bandjarnegara, in Tijdschr.* Bat. Gen. XXXVI, 1893.

60. Two Javanese *kris* blades: the *dapur bener* type (*left*), and the *dapur luq* type (*right*).



61. Javanese *kris* and sheath parts.

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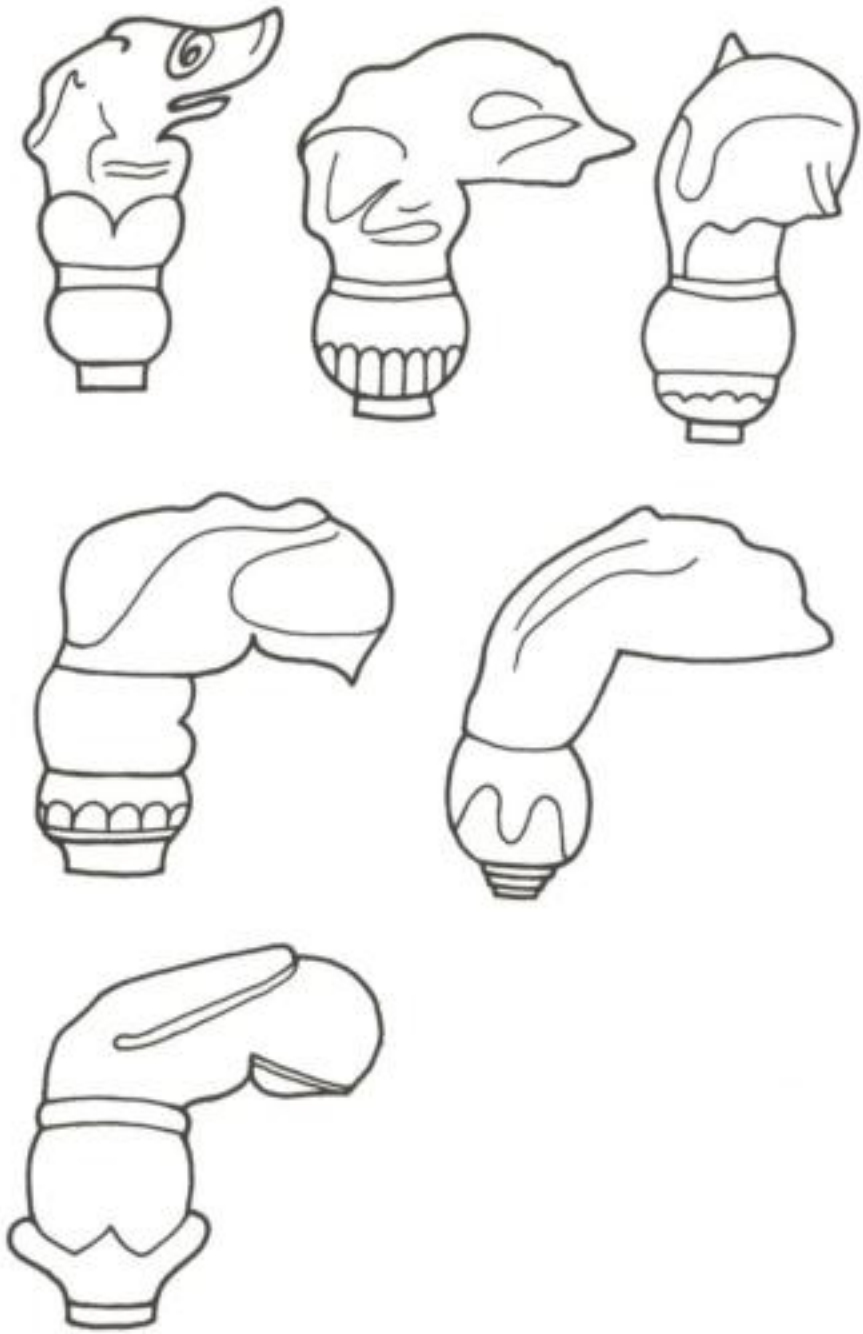
with the blade (*ganja menumpang*); in later models the *ganja* is a separate piece. The shank (*paksi*) is a pin projecting through the *ganja* in line with the axis of the blade on which to fit the handle (*ulu*). The ornamental ferrule is called the *penongkoh* and slips over the *paksi* to fit loosely over the base of the handle.

The slant of the *ganja* in relation to the blade is deliberate and makes one end of it sharp-pointed (*aring*), with the other end relatively blunt (*dagu*). Just below the *aring* will be found multiple serrations (*janggut*), while below the *dagu* is the interesting and mystic feature of the upward and inward curved spike (*belalaigaja*, or "elephant's trunk"), and the shorter spike above it, called *lambaigaja*, or "elephant's tusk." Between these spikes may be a few toothlike projections corresponding to the *janggut* on the opposite edge. In many models, however, these spikes are reduced to symbolic protuberances; they may even be entirely absent.

The handle (grip or hilt) offers a method of differentiation of the *kris*. This important part of the weapon is called the *ulu*. Historically its design features go back to two main forms, the *tunggaq sĕmi*, or "budding tree trunk," and the *pasisiran*, or "littoral."[18] A third type, *kagoq*, or "intermediary form," has also been suggested by some scholars, such as Jasper and Mas Pirngadie. It is clear that different handles were prescribed for different classes of people and there may have even been some connection between handle design and geographical area. The importance of the *kris* handle is reflected even today where it is best known as a status symbol. As the social status of a Javanese alters, so does his *kris*-handle design.

The handle is usually made from some ornamental wood, is always hand-carved, and is about four to five inches in length. The handle is bent near its midpoint to give a pistol-grip effect. It appears to be undersized for all but the tiniest of hands. The most common Javanese type is the *jawa dĕmam*, or "fever-stricken man," design; it resembles a man hugging himself as if in the grip of fever chills. The older *kris* handles were recognizable as human figures and animals, but later were reduced to geometrical shapes. For example, the clearly recognizable Garuda degenerated into grotesque caricature. Events in history caused the modifications. After the Hindu culture fell under the onslaught of the Muslims, the Javanese feared reprisals if they clung openly to their Hindu culture. They thus compromised with Allah by defacing the original *kris*-handle images, but retained their vague form so that they could perpetuate the superstitions and religious biases that gave potency and efficiency to their *kris*. Hindu demigods were kept as models for *kris* handles, but unrecognizably made in the face of Muslim influence. No *kris* is to be found with Civa on the handle in any form

18. The division of Mataram into two rival principalities, Surakarta (Solo) and Jogjakarta, led Sunan Paku Buwana III to favor the *pasisiran* type for Solo, and Sultan Amengku Buwana I the *tunggaq sĕmi* for Jogjakarta. Since the latter type is considered superior, both areas claim original ownership of that type.



62. Javanese carved wooden *kris* handles.

directly related to this god. But perhaps the diverse names and forms of Civa have been appealed to in some now unidentifiable manner (Fig. 62).

The sheath or scabbard (*sarong*) is made from ornamental woods. The *sampir,* the crosspiece at the top of the sheath, identifies the Javanese model. It is always pronouncedly boat shaped. It follows the slant of the *ganja,* curving abruptly toward the *dagu* end. The body tapers gently toward its butt end and may be enclosed in metal, over its entire surface, or just at its lower end. The mouth of the sheath is called the "house" of

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the *kris*. Two types are dominant: the *branggah* and the *gajaman*; a third type can sometimes also be identified. It is known as the *tanggal*, an intermediary opening. None of them admit the *ganja* (Fig. 63).[19]

Little is accurately known of the origin of the *kris*. Its historic beginning is speculative. All that can be historically proven is that the *kris* existed in the middle Javanese period and that its importance at that time was entirely restricted to the noble class. As the cultural center of Java moved eastward following the downfall of the Srivijaya Empire (seventh to fourteenth centuries) in Sumatra, the *kris* took on increasingly more important roles. A. H. Hill (*Malay Keris*) has shown by examination of old *kris* that evolved types have hardly changed in the past three centuries and that the *kris* is "characteristically an Indonesian weapon." C. Forbes reports the *kris* in Java as a post-Hindu development.[20] G. C. Griffith-Williams (*Suggested Origin*) sees the *kris* as a distinct weapon in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, while Sir Richard Winstedt and I. H. N. Evans both agree that the Majapahit (thirteenth to sixteenth centuries) made the *kris* popular.[21]

A pre-Majapahit existence for the *kris* has been suggested by the so-called Panji legends,[22] which are concerned with the development of Indonesian culture up to the founding of the fourteenth-century kingdom of Pajajaran. The *kris*, in these legends, is an important instrument and is first manufactured by Hindu King Sakutram, who is said to have been born with the *kris pasopati*[23] at his side; King Radin Inu Kartapati of Janggala (fourteenth century) is also given credit for the first *kris*.

One of the earliest possible prototypes of the *kris* may be the so-called *kris majapahit* (Fig. 64). It has been described best by Abu Bakar as being an unusual one-piece blade, measuring 22.4 cm. in length (17.2 for the blade; 5.2 for the handle) and 0.35 cm. thickness on the blade. The relative handle-blade positions differ from that of the ordinary *kris* in that the handle of the *kris majapahit* faces the blade edge on the side of the *dagu*. It is forged from meteoric iron, has uncontrolled *pamur* and curves at its distal end toward the *dagu*. It has no separate *ganja*. The handle (*ulu*) when viewed from its posterior aspect is cobra shaped. Still another possible prototype is seen in the *kris pichit* (Fig. 65), which

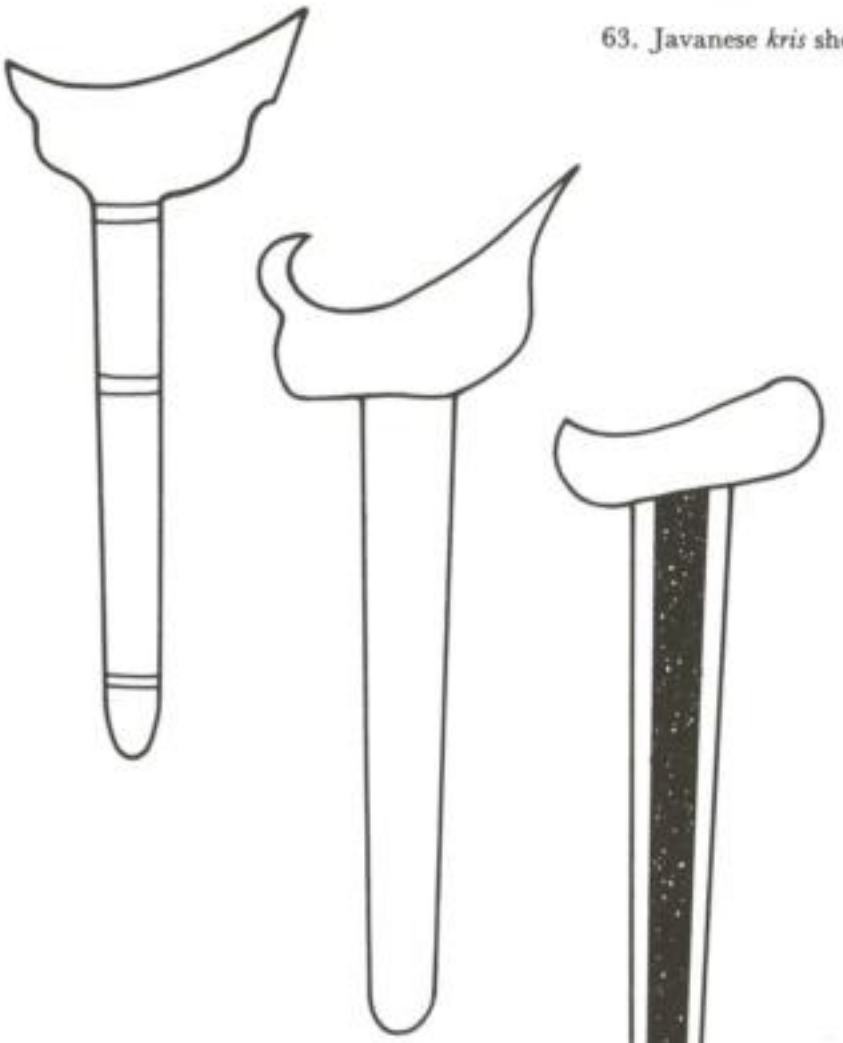
19. This is not absolute. There is a tendency in modern models for the *ganja* to lie flush with the upper surface of the *sampir*, blade fully inserted, in Javanese models.

20. *Wanderings of a Naturalist* (London, 1885).

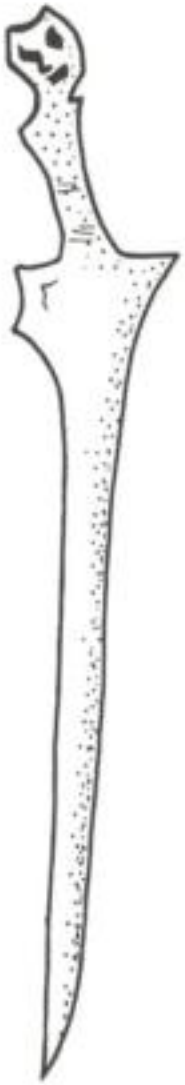
21. See Winstedt's "A History of Malaya," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 13 (March 1935), and Evans' *Among Primitive Peoples in Borneo . . .* (London: Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd., 1922); *Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula* (Cambridge: University Press, 1927), and "Notes on the Bajaus and other coastal tribes of North Borneo," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 25:1 (1952).

22. Reported to be of A.D. 92 vintage and concerning the exploits of the warrior-god Panji.

23. One of the many names of Civa.



63. Javanese *kris* sheath types.



64. The *kris majapahit*, a possible early prototype of the *kris*.

65. The *kris pichit*, another possible prototype of the *kris*.

is perhaps as old as the *kris majapahit*. It is by tradition said to have been made by a king of the Majapahit or perhaps by the *orang wali*, or "hermit-saints." Gardner has opined that the *kris majapahit* evolved from the form of daggers made from the caudal spine of the *ikan pari* (Dasyatidae and Myliobatidae), the stingrays which abound in Indonesian waters.

Still another theory about pre-*kris* prototypes has been advanced. This is the idea that the *kris* was an adapted weapon. In ancient times iron was scarce in Indonesia,[24] and a warrior perhaps carried a spear with a detachable head that served as a dagger. On missions requiring stealth the shaft could be dispensed with and the dagger hidden in the folds of the warrior's *sarong*. Hill objects to this theory on the grounds that the wide shoulders of the *ganja* and weakness of the *paksi* limit the use of the blade as a true spear. Further, some prototypes could not be secured to a shaft except by means of unsteady lashing. Then too, a spearhead must penetrate the victim cleanly and be instantly retractable. The *ganja* of the *kris* would hinder a speedy entry, and also the withdrawal. Hill also points out that no type of spear with this conversion ability has ever been found.

Dr. Soeksmono refers to the lack of evidence of the *kris* on art reliefs in Java, which must be taken as the fact that it had not yet been invented (or had not yet gained popularity). Whereas the sword and spear are abundantly depicted on ancient reliefs, the *kris* is first seen on a mid-fourteenth-century panel at a temple at Suku which shows Bima, a Javanese warrior-god, forging a *kris* with his bare hands while using his knee as an anvil.[25] Also, at Melang, a stone-monument relief shows fifteenth-century evidence of the *kris* in the Blitar region. These are the first art forms known to show the *kris*.[26]

If the *kris* really did come to Indonesia in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, the time was ripe for the growth of supernatural superstitions to dominate its rationale. That era was not veiled in peace and the *kris* may well have figured importantly in the struggles of the Hindu Majapahit against the Muslim expansion. On the arrival of Islam the Hindu warlords and their *pande* scattered, but their old faith in Vishnu and Civa did not die. The powers of these two important Hindu gods came to be passed into the *kris*, and the wearing of the *kris* now shifted from the exclusive right of the noble class to a universal practice whereby every commoner carried one. The *kris* took on new significance and its reputation grew as the power of Civa was invoked for anti-Muslim endeavors. By the commoner wearing the *kris*, design features were

24. Dr. van Stein-Callenfels puts the iron age in Java at the fourth century A.D.; Gardner sets it at approximately A.D. 600.

25. All Majapahit *pande* are reported as able to work red-hot iron with their bare hands.

26. This may simply mean that prior to this time the *kris* was of such little importance that it did not merit commemoration on artworks of the times. Perhaps, also, there are yet artworks to be discovered which will predate those now known.

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affected; it was made to be worn comfortably and hidden easily in the *sarong*, ready for instant use. On the fall of the Majapahit, the *pande* were driven into East Java, Bali, Madura, and the Celebes, there to fashion *kris* with still further modifications according to the needs of each geographical area. The original *kris* forms, said by Ngabehi Karjadikrama to be only four (Brodjol, Tilamputih, Sangkelat, and Panimbal) from which all others derive, were greatly diversified. Hill (*Malay Keris*) lists the following distinct types: Javanese; Bali-Lombok-Madura; Sumatran; Bugis; Pantani, and Sundang or Sulok (Suluk).

The *pande*, or smith, who forges the *kris* is a special person. Though usually poor and humble, he is treated as an honored person because he has access to the supernatural. He is addressed as *ĕmpu* or *kyai* (lord or master). His trade is regarded not as something ordinary but as a sacred art veiled in mystery. The *pande* of old enjoyed a higher social position than those of today, but all *pande* are respected. When at work he could use his imagination for design efforts within only very narrow limits. His earliest blades were functional and not decorative, but today's *kris* are highly ornate instruments.

One of the distinguishing features of the *kris* which is imparted by the *pande* is that rough, lacking-finish quality of the blade. It has often been mistakenly called damascening, but in reality it is *pamur* (*pamor*).[27] It is a special design feature obtained by welding metals of different compositions in an ingenious manner to the core of the blade. Not all *kris* are given this treatment, but those without it are not considered complete. The designs of *pamur* are, to Javanese, living beings, with both bad and good characteristics.

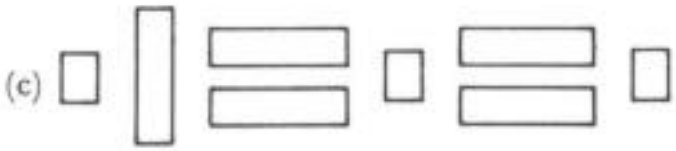
Pamur may first have been made by accident. Early forging came when knowledge of iron and metallurgy was limited. Meteors, containing nickel and other impurities, furnished the *pande*'s principal source of iron for blades. Crude forging methods developed characteristic veining patterns. These came to be given talismanic values and in time were improved on in processes devised by each *pande*. The *pande* worked in and encouraged complete mysticism to keep others from learning his trade.

Some twenty layers of metal are hammered into each side of the blade core. The smith controls the order and layering design. A single forging of the metal-sandwich effect is sufficient to bring them together. Later, smaller sections of the blade, starting at the base at the handle end, are heated and hammered separately; holes and channels may be cut to expose veins. Some hand polishing is used to smooth down the roughest edges, but the blade is never highly polished. It may be pickled in acid, usually acetic or citric compounds, and may be still further etched by arsenic. The blade is finally washed and oiled, ready for fitting to its carefully made and chosen handle.

27. Damascene work lacks relief surfaces; *pamur* is all relief.

(a) GAGAL LAPAR

(b) PENCHEBAK



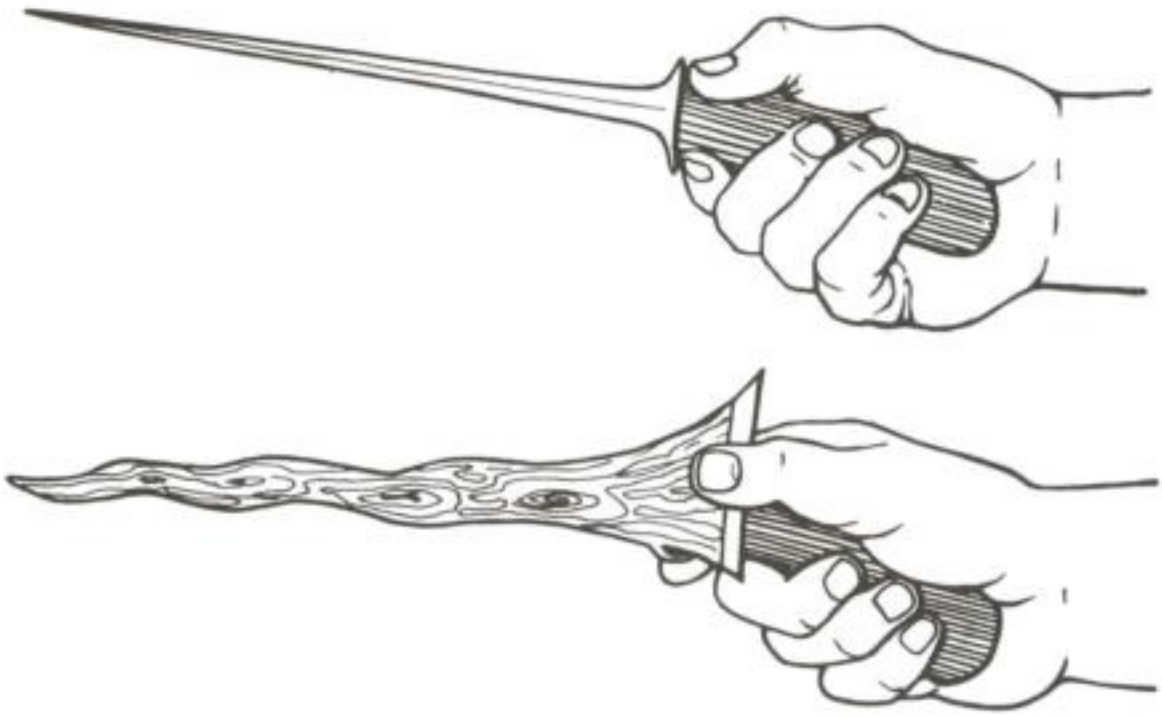
(c) DUAN SA-PUCHOK

66. Test patterns for *kris* blades.

There are five principal *pamur* designs: *wos wutah* (disseminated grains of rice), *sĕkar pala* (nutmeg flowers), *sĕkar ngadĕg* (flowers in erect position), *blaraq ngirid* (coconut leaves strung), and *sĕkar tĕmu* (curcuma flowers). These patterns represent the five Pandawas of the Hindu-Javanese epic. All other designs of *kris* are but variations of these five.

It is perhaps because of the use of arsenic on the blade that the *kris* is referred to as a poisoned blade. But more often than not no poison is used on this already lethal and bloodthirsty weapon. If it should be applied, it perhaps would be a product of the *Antiaris toxicaria* used on blowpipe missiles and arrows of inland natives. A nick by a *kris* so prepared would be fatal.

Certain features of the *kris* indicate whether it will be good or bad luck for the potential owner. Principally the number of times it has shed blood is important. The reputation of its *pande*, the *pamur* pattern, and special features are also taken into consideration. To discover its potential there are various tests: a strip of *pandan* leaf, the exact length of the blade, is folded in half and cut into rectangular pieces, each equal to the midpoint width of the blade. These pieces are then laid, in a particular order and pattern, along the blade. The end pieces determine whether the *kris* is lucky or unlucky for the owner-to-be. An odd number of strips is better than an even number. The *gagal lapar*, or "beak open," pattern (Fig. 66a) and the *duan sa-puchok* pattern (b) are indicative of a lucky *kris* for a warrior. The *penchebak*, or "long shovel," pattern (c) is a term of contempt for an unlucky *kris*. The measurer may also utter a recurring sequence of words when cutting or laying the



67. Two views of gripping the *kris*.

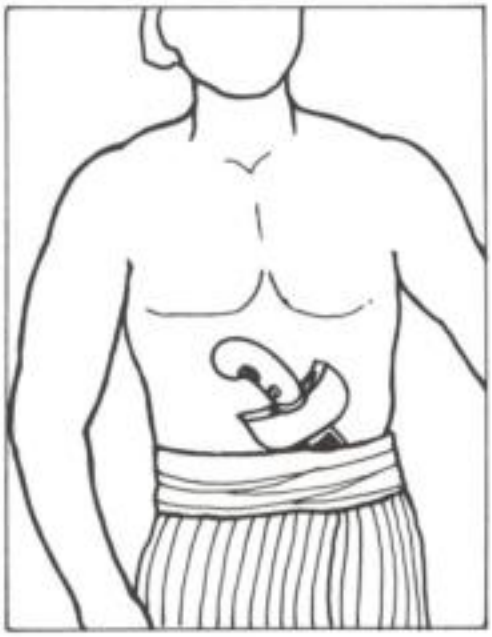
patterns. Certain words are luckier than others. Still another method is to hold the *kris* with its handle toward the measurer. The right thumb is placed across the blade so that the thumbnail just covers the top edge of the *ganja* along the axis of the blade. Then the left thumb is in position to just touch the right one and, in alternate fashion, the thumbs are worked down the blade toward its point. The *kris* is known to be lucky if the last thumb-width stays just within the length of the blade.

J. Crawfurd has labeled the *kris* a ". . . trifling, ineffectual dagger."[28] Admittedly, a lopsided-appearing instrument somewhat blunt at its pointed end, the *kris* gives every appearance of being a weapon that has just been thrown together without any special care given its design. With the base of its handle at almost right angles to the flat side of the blade, the *kris* must require special handling to be effectual in combative situations.

It is held in the right hand, fingers gripping the handle, which points downward (at right angles to the plane of the blade which is vertically positioned). The *aring* gives protection to the knuckles and base joints of the fingers; the *dagu* serves to protect the fore-end joints. The forefinger is placed to lie along the *ganja* (Fig. 67).[29] The *kris* is used in thrusting

28. *History of the Indian Archipelago* (Edinburgh, 1820).

29. With the thumb pressing the *dagu* portion of the blade, the grip resembles that which would be used to hold a spear shaft. This fact often is used to reinforce the theory that the *kris* stemmed from the spear rather than from the dagger.



68. Wearing the *kris*.

fashion, straight-line jabs from close to the body with the elbow kept bent; if the arm is fully extended on the thrust, the *kris* cannot be delivered with its best efficiency. It is thus a highly suitable weapon for quick stab-and-thrust actions in close combat in confined spaces. The enemy's thrusts can be deflected by judicious use of the *aring*. On the jungle trails, *kris* pitted against *kris,* it is an admirable weapon, but if contested against longer and more powerful weapons, such as swords and sticks or staffs, its efficiency is in great question. It certainly is a weapon which depends on stealth and surprise rather than premeditated squaring off and fencing tactics. The victim's midsection or kidney areas are the most-favored targets for stabbing. The *kris*'s stabbing action may be made with the blade held either *aring* upward or to the right, and in either an upward or downward direction.

Though the Javanese doubtless regard the *kris* as a strong fighting weapon, they surround it with stringent ethic and never perceptibly prefer to carry it as such.

The *kris* is most usually worn in such a manner as not to be instantly at hand. It is proper to wear it thrust through the sash in an oblique way, lower end of the sheath on the left side, grip on the right side. If carried *aring* downward the intention is peaceful. Reversing the *aring* so that it points upward requires the normal sheath to be worn frontal side against the back; this is not usual, but such a wearing permits an instant draw and fast use of the blade (Fig. 68).

The *kris* has also served as a tool of execution for criminals. The condemned man was made to kneel. His executioner stood behind him holding the *kris* above the condemned's left shoulder. At a given signal the executioner plunged the blade in an oblique path, downward through the shoulder flesh near the collarbone and into the victim's

heart. The Sultan's quadrangle in Jogjakarta was the scene of many such acts by which criminals were "*crissed*."

Javanese blade types do not stop with the *kris*. An almost uncountable variety of blade designs can be found on this island. Some generalizations are possible and may sometimes be extended to the weapons of other areas of Indonesia.

The terms *pedang*, *kĕlewang*, *parang*, *pisau*, *golok*, and *arit* all identify bladed weapons commonly seen on Java. They have been described earlier in Chapter One, in connection with weaponry attached to *pentjak-silat*. Still other knife-blade patterns exist (Fig. 69).

Javanese spears are famous; mystic shapes and infinite designs characterize these weapons (Figs. 70, 71). Gilded spears from Sunda are used in the performance of the *unchelang* (spear-catching) dances seen at festivals. Their history goes back into the dim past and reminds of the combative strength of this primitive weapon. A *wayang kulit* (shadow play) tells of a warrior-god of the kingdom of Mendang, Kamulan, who pointed his spear at the ground, from which emerged a huge snake the size of a tall tree with breath poisonous and strong like smoke from a volcano.

Fondness for the blade, however, has not permitted the Javanese to overlook other fighting forms. C. Forbes has reported (*Wanderings*) that in the remote village of Tjibeo the antisocial Badui live on carrion. Forbidden by their religious beliefs to let the blood of animals, they "kill by a stroke of hand," letting the animal die of the blow. They possess an effective use of the hands by which they deliver the killing blows, and slaughter even water buffalo in this fashion. The relation of their skills to organized *pentjak-silat* forms is unknown.[30]

The Maduin area in East-Central Java, specifically the Ponorogo area, has developed a combative system called TJAMBUK. A secret whip-fighting technique, TJAMBUK is little practiced in the open today and is most difficult to locate but may be glimpsed during special festivals in which the Reog is danced; this folkdance depicts a battle between two neighboring tribes.[31] The weapon, the *chemeti* (Fig. 72), may be of buffalo leather; sometimes human hair is substituted, or a metal chain is used. The handle of the whip may be of hard leather or leather wrapped around a hardwood handle. Overall lengths of the whip vary from three to five feet.

30. Yazir Marzuki, a Badui now residing in Djakarta, in an interview at the Indonesian National Museum in Djakarta (1967), explained that Badui culture wishes no liaison with modern civilized society. Interrogations by officials about weapons and fighting systems were unproductive.

31. The Reog dancers are men of extraordinarily strong neck muscles, produced by many hours of dancing while wearing huge and heavy decorative headpieces. Witnessed tapings of necks found even the smallest to be about seventeen inches, with some exceeding nineteen; since the natives are of relatively small stature and slight of build, this development is exceptional. Such men are regarded as "unchokable" in combat.

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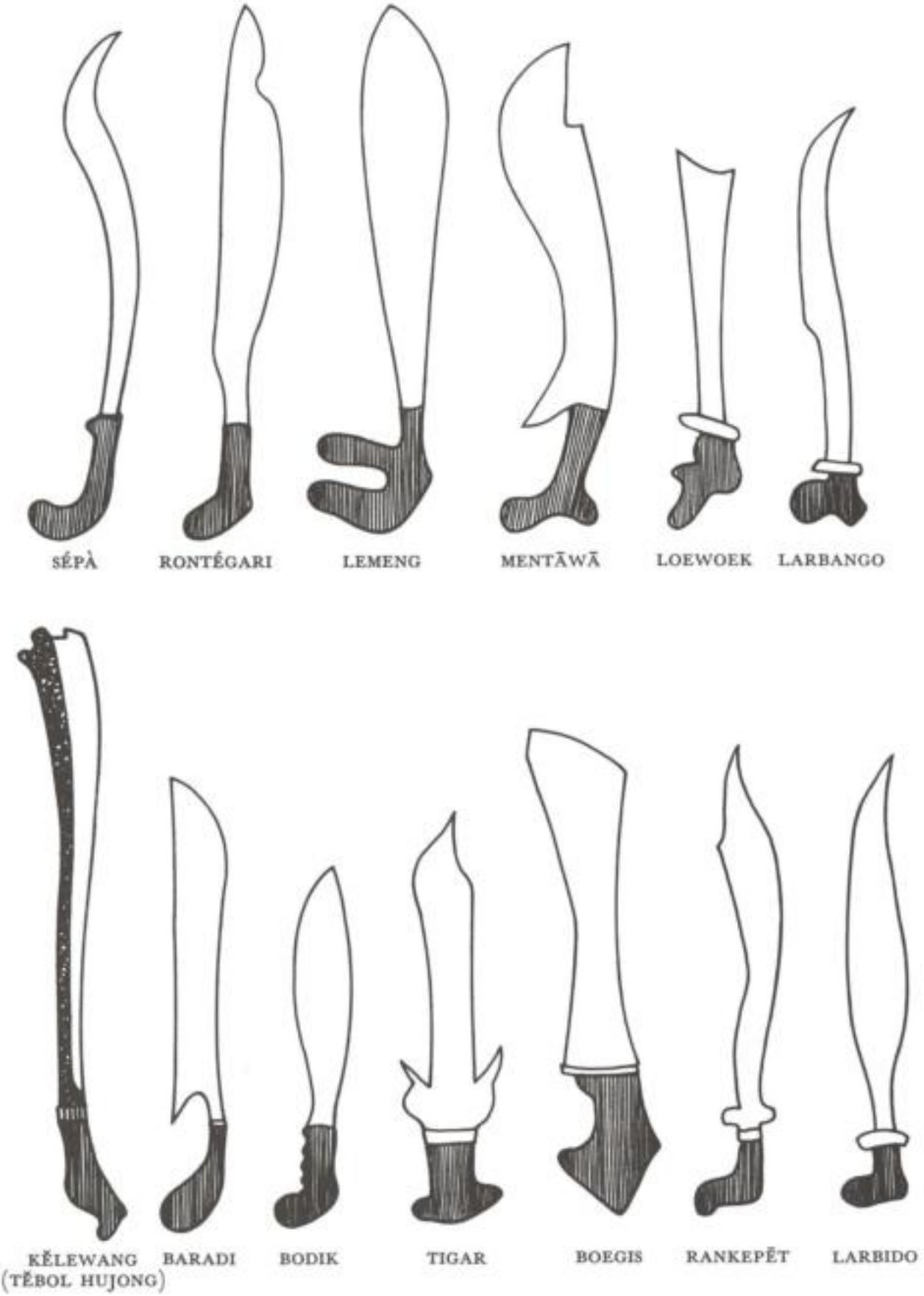
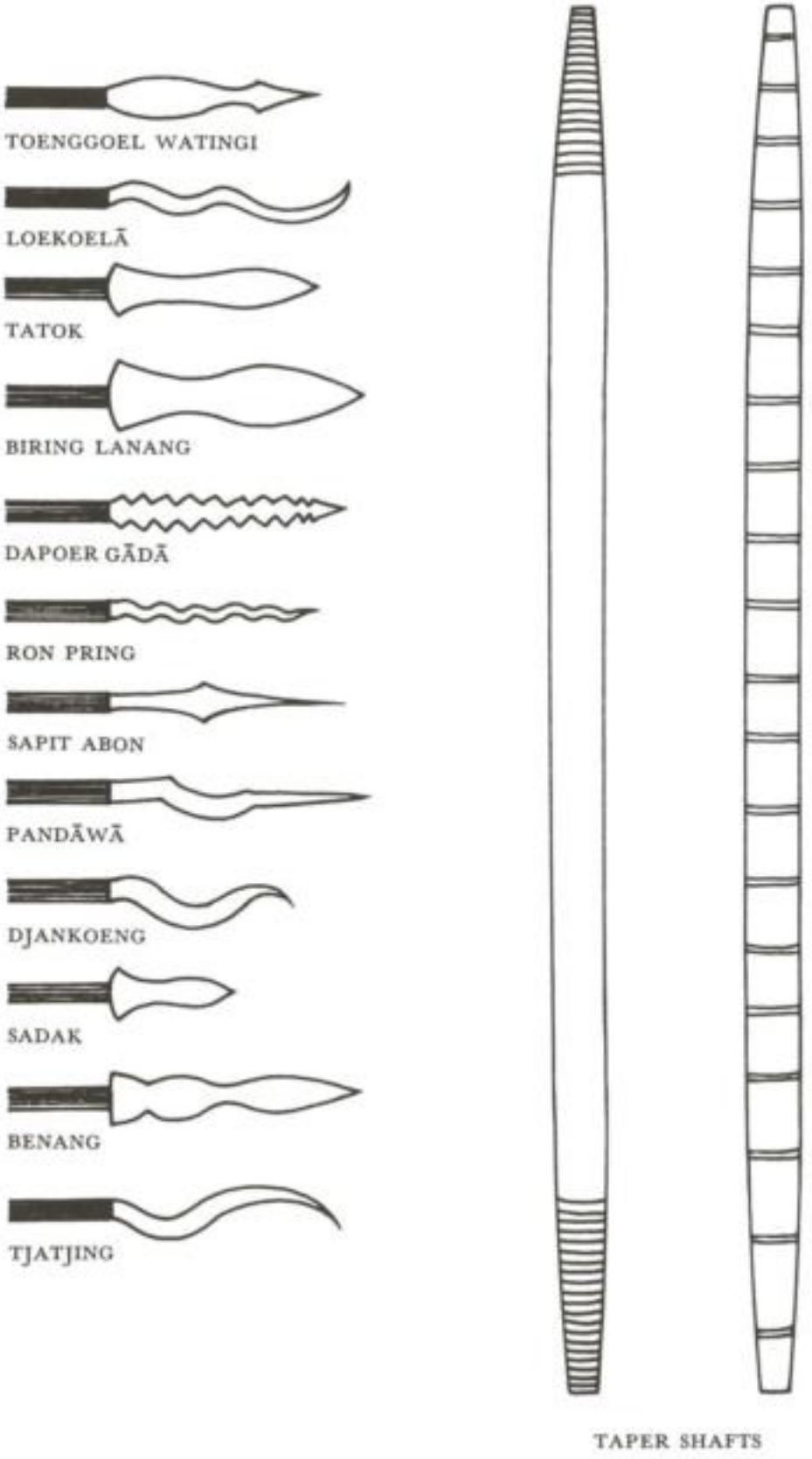
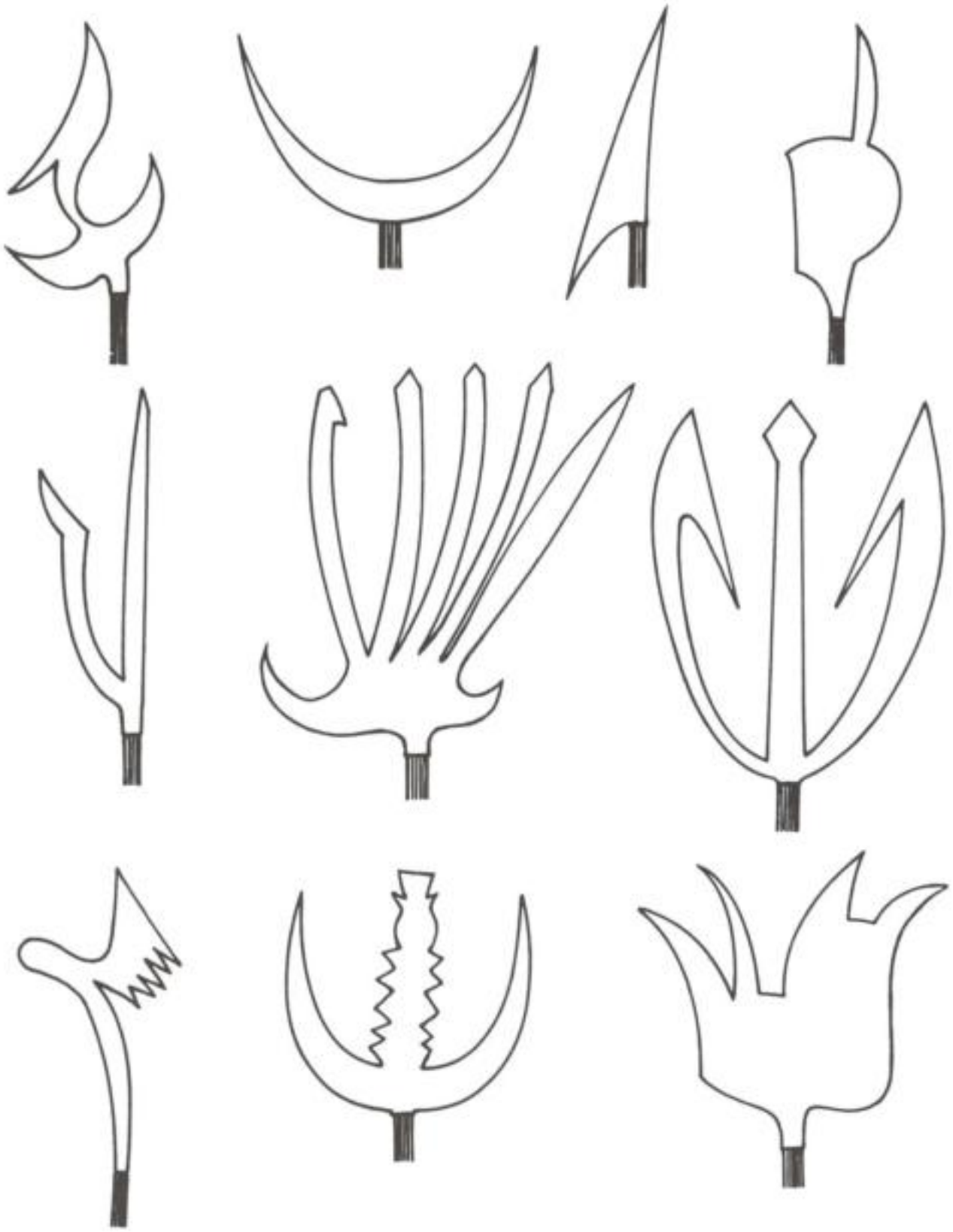


69. Basic types of Javanese knife and sword blades.

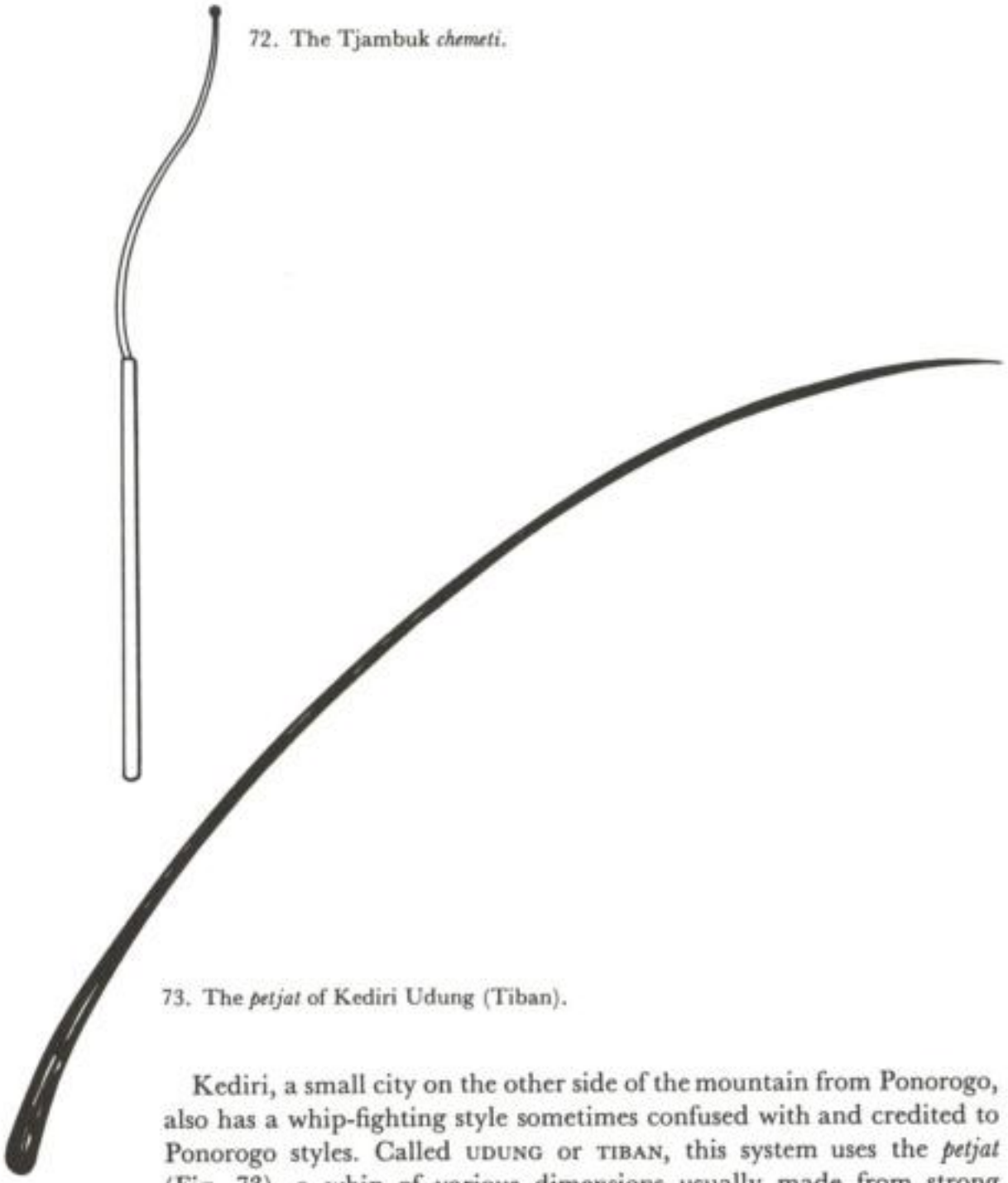


70. Basic types of Javanese spearheads and shafts.



71. Miscellaneous Javanese spearheads on display at the Museum Sono Boedojo Sekaten, Jogjakarta.

72. The Tjambuk *chemeti*.



73. The *petjat* of Kediri Udung (Tiban).

Kediri, a small city on the other side of the mountain from Ponorogo, also has a whip-fighting style sometimes confused with and credited to Ponorogo styles. Called UDUNG or TIBAN, this system uses the *petjat* (Fig. 73), a whip of various dimensions usually made from strong fibers, such as twisted coconut palm. The whip is four to six feet in length. The system today is largely ceremonial, seen only on festival days, especially during the southeastern monsoon season, a time of intense heat and draught when it is believed that the whip action will produce the needed rain.

The object of the above whip-fighting styles is to make the enemy submit. Target areas for both TJAMBUK and UDUNG (TIBAN) center about the face, especially the eyes.[32] Scars on the arms of elders attest to their

32. The precise relationships with Flores whip-fighting styles are as yet not fully investigated, but the similarities are too striking to be accidental.

training of old. Their arms, now a mass of scar tissue, have an extremely high threshold of pain. Normal whip-fighting action against their arms is perhaps not felt as pain. They are able to receive a full whiplash on their arms without any ill effects.

The skills of the TJAMBUK and UDUNG whip-fighters are reportedly fantastic. They are said to be able to snip off shirt buttons. Such skills, while possible, are nevertheless not demonstrated.

In the Djember area is found a strange style of *chemeti* art. The natives there use a leather whip skillfully enough to crack tiles and soft rocks. It is claimed that they delight in practicing snapping out dry grass fires to improve their technique.

GULAT, an Indonesian wrestling form, is not commonly popular among the Javanese. It exists mainly as a sport today, tuned for international and Olympic competition; its origins however are combative. It is a strange synthesis made possible by the impetus of the Japanese occupation during World War II and contacts with other foreign areas. It combines Iranian free-style wrestling tactics, Korean *cireum,* and Japanese *sumō*. Contestants grapple like *sumō-tori* (Japanese wrestlers) and are required to throw and hold the opponent to gain victory. They are clad in the *tjawat* (similar to the Japanese *sumō mawashi*). BANJANG is a Bandung-area (West Java) style of GULAT.

Java boasts various modern synthesis systems based on an amalgamation of *kuntao, pentjak-silat,* Japanese *jūjutsu,* judo, *karate-dō,* and *aikidō*. In the Djakarta area, Robert Chung and Effendi are two such originators and teachers of their own systems. At Bandung will be found "Battling" Ong, a Chinese exprofessional wrestler who has concocted his own self-defense system.

In the east, in Surabaja, there is also a very interesting and effective synthesis system. Known as PORBIKAWA, or Perkumpulan Olah Raga Beladiri Ishikawa, the system was founded by an Indonesian-Japanese, Ishikawa. Training in this system is thorough and practical. The student learns to fall from difficult positions and a range of heights and relies on uplift force originating from both feet contacting the ground to protect his spinal column from injury. When sufficiently skilled the student can take a flat fall and spring to his feet to continue the fight. The system deals with empty-hand and weapons attacks and defenses (Figs. 74, 75). Weapons most employed include the staff, the stick, the sword, and the knife. The techniques of the PORBIKAWA system reflect their composite ancestry in *kuntao, pentjak-silat,* as well as their Japanese aspects in *jūjutsu*. Two leading teachers are the twin Tan brothers, who assist master teacher Ishikawa.

Madura Island is the home of a little-known form of grappling combative. Called ŌKOL, the form is endemic only to Madura. Much of ŌKOL training today is confined to the lower class *betchak* (pedicab drivers), but occasionally it may be seen among older students who practice it as a sport. No special costume need be worn; the idea stems

74. Porbikawa system empty-hand action.

75. The use of the *toya* in the Porbikawa system.

76. The beginning of an Ökol grappling bout.

77. The *osoto-otoshi* tactic in Ōkol grappling.

78. Two stages of the *seoi-nage* tactic in Ōkol grappling.

from its combative origins in which the garments used in daily dress are adequate. An ŌKOL bout is begun by the two combatants grasping each other in a symmetrical four-handed locked-up stance resembling the Japanese *sumō yotsu-gumi*. The two then endeavor to force each other off balance by quick, clever movements and leverage (Fig. 76). Throwing the opponent to the ground is the accepted manner of effecting a victory. Tactics include judo-like actions, such as *osoto-otoshi* (Fig. 77) and *seoi-nage* (Fig. 78). No grappling on the ground is permitted in the sport form, but if the situation is combative, then stamping or kicking, or even striking the downed combatant, is the way to victory. The upright combatant may also finish off his adversary on the ground by use of a knife thrust into a vital area.

On Sapudi Island nearby Madura's eastern coast are found excellent spear (*tombuk*) and staff (*toya*) fighting techniques. The natives there specialize in these two weapons and apply similar tactics to both.

Chapter 3

SUMATRA, NIAS, MENTAWAI ISLANDS, and the RIOUW ARCHIPELAGO

Nor shall my sword
sleep in my hand.

—BLAKE

■ Background

William Marsden, writing in the eighteenth century, spoke of Sumatra as being ". . . of all accessible places of the world, that which was the least known."[1] Combatively speaking this is still true in the twentieth century. Insufficient interest in investigating the wealth of combative lore existing on this island, one of the largest in the world, is evident.

Sumatra lies in a general northwest and southeast direction, bisected obliquely by the equator. Its northern tip pushes into the Bay of Bengal, its southwest coast exposed to the great Indian Ocean; southward it is separated by the Straits of Sunda from Java and on the east by the fringes of the Eastern and China seas from Borneo, while on the northeast by the Straits of Malacca from the Malay Peninsula.

Little is known of the early history of Sumatra. Even the origin of the island's commonly accepted name, Sumatra, cannot be positively identified.[2] It is generally accepted by scholars that this huge island was once, in the prehistoric past, united with the Asian continent. Curiously, too, it has been proven that migrations took place from Sumatra to the Malay Peninsula by a process of gradual displacement and for a variety

1. *History of Sumatra* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press [3rd Ed.], 1966).

2. Many primitive inhabitants of Sumatra to this day have no special word or name for their land. The better-informed call it Indalas, Pulo Percha, or Pritcho. Ancient Arabian records refer to it as Al-Rami or Lameri; the Chinese knew it variously as Po-li, Pa-li, Pa-ri, or Bari; sometimes Kanda-li or Kando-ri. Francois Valentijn uses the name Andalus. Persian records mention Shamatrah; Malayan documents speak of Samantara. From these latter names can be seen a strong resemblance to the Sanskrit language (*su*, implying "good" and *matra*, "measure" or samantara implying "boundary," "intermediate," or yet "that which lies between"). The Hindus appear to have named it Sumatra.

of expansionistic reasons, the reverse, a north-to-south displacement, not being the case.

Sumatra perhaps was unknown to the ancient Greek and Roman geographers; their Taprobane may thus be only Ceylon, though from the Middle Ages onward that name was applied to Sumatra. That the ancient Chinese knew of Sumatra is established by examination of their old records. However, for a long time they recorded two separate locations on the island as different countries. *The History of the Liang Dynasty* (502–556), Book 54, gives some valuable information on the recognition of Sumatra. The records reveal the kingdom of Po-li, situated southeast of Canton on an island in the sea. The king ". . . carries a sword inlaid with gold and sits on a golden throne . . . his carriage is drawn by an elephant." Upon questioning the natives, the Chinese learned that they did not know about their ancestral origins, but only that their king was named Kâudinya and that a wife of S'uddhôdana was a woman from their country.[3] The existence of Po-li is also supported by the records of the Sui dynasty (581–617) (Book 82) which states:

> The people of this country are skilled in throwing a discus-knife; it has the size of a mirror, in the middle is a hole and the edge is like a saw; when they throw it at a man, they never fail to hit him. Their other arms are about the same as China. Their customs resemble those of Cambodja and the productions of the country are the same as of Siam. When one commits murder or theft, they cut off his hands, and when adultery has been committed, the culprit has his legs chained for the time of one year.

W. P. Groeneveldt infers that these early Chinese sources refer to the northern coast of Sumatra where the rulers were Hindus professing Buddhism. Other areas of Sumatra did not recognize the authority of those rulers.[4]

More accurate historically are the accounts of two Arabian travelers in the ninth century that refer to a large island by the name of Ramni; the characteristics and details assigned to it identify it as Sumatra. Marco Polo, in the later thirteenth century, positively reached Sumatra,[5] and mentions in his writings that the place was an important mart much frequented by traders from the southern provinces of China. He speaks of "Saracen merchants" inhabiting the towns who are " . . . of the faith of Mahomet . . ." while still others who live in the mountains "live like beasts and were in the practice of eating human flesh . . . kill

3. Kâudinya was the maternal uncle, and S'uddhôdana the father, of Buddha. It would thus seem that princes of this ancient land were immigrants from India who were related to a Buddhistic culture.

4. *Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya Compiled from Chinese Sources* (Djakarta, 1960).

5. Marsden reports the year as 1290; Dr. Soeksmono prefers 1292.

and devour such strangers caught amongst them as cannot pay a ransom."[6]

In this chapter it is necessary to distinguish specific peoples and their cultural traits. Specially important to Sumatran weapons and combative systems are the Menangkabau, the Atjenese,[7] the Batak,[8] the Rejang, the people of the Lampong, the aborigines known as Orang Kubu and Orang Gugu, and the so-called Celates, or Selates.

Before passing on to specific discussions involving the combative traits of these major groups, it is well to reflect briefly on the sanguinary achievements for which the Sumatrans have become famous. While much of what is told is within the realm of manufactured hyperbole, as much perhaps belongs within the realm of truth.

The Sumatran's preference for what has been called "the Gothic appeal to the sword" is not fiction. The bladed weapon is the core of his fighting arts and is strengthened beyond its mechanical attributes by the strongest feelings of superstition. For Sumatrans, some persons are *betuah*, that is, "sacred" or "invulnerable." By some mystic and unexplainable power these persons are able to withstand the penetration of a blade; sometimes the blade is turned away or bent in despair upon contact with the person's body.

When approaching combat the Sumatran may enter with daring made possible by self-fortification with opium; sufficient quantities are taken to render themselves insensible to danger and pain. But, as Marsden warns in his *History of Sumatra*, " . . . the resolution for the act precedes, and is not the effect of the intoxication."

Sumatran fighting men take great pride in their weapons and will not be parted from them, however primitive the weapons may seem to modern man. He has faced conflict and death almost daily and his weapons are symbols of the desire to conquer, to stay alive in his society, one of the most primitive in the world.

Menangkabau was the principal sovereignty of Sumatra in days of old,[9] extending its authority over most of the island and receiving

6. H. Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo* (Edited by H. Cordier. 2 vols., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903).

7. The people of Atjeh (the correct Romanization) have been given the corrupted names of Achin or Acheen (Achinese or Acheenese) by Europeans.

8. Corrupted by Europeans sometimes to Batta, Battas, or Battak.

9. Tradition tells of the name deriving from the words *menang* (to win) and *karbau* (buffalo). One version speaks of a fight between a buffalo and a tiger in which the former was victorious. Impressed, the natives adopted the idea of "winning buffalo" for the name of their society, which patterned its combative strength after the buffalo. Another version speaks of a rival power who, wishing to subjugate the natives, under threat of military might offered a bout between its killer buffalo and one to be chosen by the natives as the deciding means. In a victor-take-all bout, the natives pitted a young calf against the killer buffalo. The calf, fitted with razor-sharp blades on its head, took to suckle and in so doing, mortally wounded the killer buffalo. By this clever ruse the natives gained their independence.

homage from the most powerful kingdoms. Its area lay just under the equinoctial line, nearly in the center of Sumatra. It was bounded by the Palembang and Siak rivers on the eastern side and situated between the Manjuta (or Indrapura) and Singkel rivers on the west. The present seat of the kingdom lies at the rear of a mountainous district called Tiga-blas Koto (implying thirteen fortified and confederated towns).

The Menangkabau are known as Orang Malāyo, or "Malāys," but their precise origin is unknown. Myths, fables, and quasi-historical records posit various possibilities. Annals and historical records of the Menangkabau are rare, but all deduce their origin from two brothers, Perapatisi-batang and Kei Tamanggungan, who were supposed to have been passengers on Noah's Ark. Landing at Palembang or near it (on an isle named Langka-pura), they proceeded to the mountain Singuntang-guntang and then later to Priangan, which is even today regarded as the ancient capital of Menangkabau. It is this stock of people which later migrated to the Malay Peninsula to form important colonies there. Evidence of this exists in two Malayan books, the *Taju assalatin* (*Makuta segala raja-raja*), or "The Crown of All Kings," and *Sulalat assalatin* (*Penurun-an Segala raja-raja*), or "The Descent of All (Malayan) Kings." Both Petrus van der Worm (1677) and F. Valentijn (1726) verify the contents. In these works it is shown that the Malayans originally came from the kingdom Palembang on the island of Indalus (now Sumatra). A leader-prince Sri Turi Buwana, descended from Iskander (Alexander) the Great, then emigrated (*c.* 1160) to the southeastern extremity of the Malay Peninsula (then named Ujong Tanah). They built the city of Singapura and aroused the jealousy of the Majapahit. In 1252, hard pressed by the Majapahit, they retired northward, then swung westward to found Malaka (Malacca).

More accurate historical records are available from the early sixteenth century. Menangkabau, as a kingdom, is positively identified and the martial ardor of the people confirmed. Linschoten in 1601 wrote: "At Menancabo excellent poniards made, called *creeses;* best weapons of all the orient."[10] Argensola in 1609 pointed out: "A vessel loaded with *creeses* manufactured at Menancabo and a great quantity of artillery . . . a species of warlike machine known and fabricated in Sumatra many years before they were introduced by Europeans."[11]

But the first European arrivals already saw the Menangkabau in decline. Their pre-Islam culture with its probable Hindu roots professing a religion of Brahma and showing mixtures of Persian ideas was all but gone. The society the Europeans first witnessed was now completely under Islamic influence. This seventh-century Arabian import and its

10. *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies* (an old English translation [1598] edited by A. C. Burnell and P. A. Tiele. Issued by the Hakluyt Society).

11. William Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press [3rd Ed.], 1966).

conversion of the original (aboriginal) Menangkabau natives are not entirely an understood process. Marsden (*History of Sumatra*) cites the records of Marco Polo (*c.* 1290) which imply that the populace had embraced the faith: " . . . the people of this empire, by their conversion to Mahometanism, and consequent change of manners, have lost in a greater degree than some neighbouring tribes, the genuine Sumatran character." Sultan Muhammed Shah (reign 1276–1333) is traditionally reckoned as the first royal convert. Muslim annals would prefer to antedate the tradition and cite the arrival of a Xerif (descendant of Khalifs) from Mecca named Paduka Sri Sultan Ibrahim, who settled in Sumatra Menangkabau country and was welcomed by the Menangkabau founder-princes of legend. Perhaps all that can be said positively is that there was a pre-Islam Menangkabau and a later one dominated by the Islamic code. Both cultures have influenced the native's weapons and fighting arts.

The titles and epithets assumed by the Muslim royalty speak of " . . . a lance named *lambing lambura*, . . ." or "the sword named *churak simandang-giri*" which received 190 gaps in its conflict with the fiend Si Katimuno, a hideous mythological snake, before slaying that monster, and of " . . . the *kris* formed of the soul of steel" which expresses an unwillingness at being sheathed and shows itself pleased when drawn, and yet of "a lance formed of a twig of *iju* [vegetable production with fibers like horsehair]." Personalities such as Maharaja Durja were recorded thus: "He is dreadful in battle and not to be conquered, his courage and valor being matchless."

Subsequent to the death of Sultan Alif in 1680, the Menangkabau fractionated into various independencies. English and Dutch commercial interests played one against the other. Destructive wars were fought and the European learned the terror of the native fighting skills. Indrapura, one of the first and most powerful independencies, involved itself with a splinter government from its seat of authority in the form of the Ayer Aji; in a 1701 succession struggle great numbers of Europeans were massacred. Ayer Aji dwindled in importance and Indrapura fell.

From the ruins of Indrapura emerged Anak-sungei, which, by English intervention in 1695, rose to commercial importance. The Passamman areas on the northernmost edge of Menangkabau area and Priaman on the coast fell under the sway of the Atjeh, "whose monarchs made them tremble in their turn." Siak was a maritime power and Raja Ismael (reign 1780) is recorded as ". . . one of the greatest pirates in those seas" who frequently attacked the Malay Peninsula. Jambi was in the Limun country and, though inferior to Siak, was commercially important. The natives of the area had a bad reputation, however, and the merchants of Bengal are reported to have dealt with them "at the point of the sword."[12]

12. Ibid.

Palembang in the Musi district was a port for ships from Madura, Bali, the Celebes, and Java. It encouraged the continental merchants from Cambodia, Siam, China, Indochina, and Burma to settle. It was destroyed in 1660 by the Dutch who built a fort on the marshy tract just above the river delta. Inland from Palembang are vast tracts of land inhabited by little-known tribes with strange customs, such as with the inhabitants of Blida. When a child is born there, the father, suspicious of its origin, invokes his right to test the fidelity of his wife by throwing the baby into the air and catching it on the tip of his spear. It is said that a baby suffering no wound is a legitimate child. The common knowledge of this custom has practically reduced adultery to nonexistence, for the "unfaithful" wife also receives a thrust of the spear.

The "indefatigable traveller" Charles Campbell in 1800 investigated the little-known area of Korinchi, inland and back of the range of high mountains which bordered Indrapura and Anak-sungei. He describes the inhabitants as "well-knit in their limbs" and " . . . almost all of them had *sewar* or small daggers at their sides." Strangely enough, "They make gunpowder," says Campbell, "and it is a common sport among the young boys to fire it out of bamboos. In order to increase its strength, in their opinion, they mingle it with pepper-dust."[13] They are suspicious of and constantly on guard against intrusions by any other than their own stock. They fight from ambuscade. The people of the Korinchi area bear the spirit of independence and engage in frequent tribal warfare.

The journals of Lieutenant Hastings Dare, commander of an expedition of eighty-three *sepoy* officers and men, five *lascars,* twenty-two Bengals, and eighteen Bugis guards, tell much about the combative habits and weapons of the natives of the Ipu, Serampei, and Sungeitenang areas bordering Korinchi. The expedition was sent to quell the uprisings of natives in those areas, late in 1804.

The natives used *ranjau* against the expedition. The *ranjau* are bamboo stakes sharpened at each end, with the more pointed end protruding from the ground where they are set fast in the turf. The tip exposed is hardened by dipping it in oil and charring it in a low temperature flame. The *ranjau* are planted on footpaths, sometimes erect, sometimes at an angle, and concealed by leaves and growth. They pierce the foot when stepped on, leaving a dangerous wound which is irritated and inflamed by the hairy surface of the *ranjau* and prevented from healing by the nature of this substance; one puncture is fatal.

Dare reports that these natives behead all prisoners, fix the head on a long pole, and take it to their villages as a trophy where it is addressed by all in abusive language. Spears are installed by the Serampei natives to be projected by various means. Attached to a large stone, which is suspended from a sturdy tree bough, the multiple spearheaded stone can be swung pendulumlike into an aggressor's ranks as he approaches.

13. Ibid.

Dare reports the men as wearing *kris* held on their person by twisted bits of brass wire around their waists.

The Menangkabau prepare for war by marching displays and loud percussion music. However, their actual tactics on the battlefield are the exact opposite. Stealth, trickery, and ruses made to lure the enemy into ambush are their favorite methods. They use horses frequently, terrain permitting, largely to avoid the *ranjau* that stud the ground. The government of the Menangkabau is feudal. The *ulubalang* are military officers who are bodyguards of the sovereign. When dispatched singly they are some of the best assassins in the world, and known (in English translation) as "champions." They fight for the prince-leader called a *raja* (*maharaja, iang de pertuan*), or sultan.

All warriors serve without pay. Plunder is put into a collective pool and divided among the warriors according to military merit. The process of division is not without personal feuding. They make use of regulated periods of attack, commencing a temporary truce at sunset and recommencing battle at daybreak. Occasionally, in conference with the enemy, they agree to fight only during certain hours.

The most warlike people in Sumatra are the Atjeh. "That enterprising people who caused so many kingdoms to shrink from the terrour of their arms," writes Marsden (*History of Sumatra*) of the Portuguese, "met with nothing but disgrace in their attempts against Achin. . . ." The history of the Atjeh involves far more than their homelands which occupy the northeastern tip of Sumatra and extend to a southernmost boundary which, though it has varied over the years, touches on the empires of the Batak and Menangkabau cultures.

The Atjeh differ considerably from other Sumatrans, being taller and stouter as well as darker in complexion than most other natives on the island. The Atjeh have positive signs of west Indian culture in their society. In religion they are now Islam dominated. They are expert seamen, bold navigators, and adventurers without equal who built a considerable maritime force, for the purposes of both commerce and war. Their *balabang* and *jalor* plying the waters off Sumatra are long, narrow boats with two masts and double or single outrigging. Their principal use is as war boats which mount guns and carry many warriors.

The early history of the Atjeh is conjecture and only with sixteenth-century reports are reliable facts to be had. The supreme authority of their land is vested in the king or sultan. Inferior to him, but important are his "military champions," or *ulubalang*, who are armed with bladed weapons of horrible types and also firearms.

Atjeh society does not tolerate crimes within its own structure. No commutation is allowed. Petty theft requires that the criminal be suspended from a tree, a heavy weight tied to his legs. It may substitute the severing of a finger, a hand, or leg, according to the degree of the theft. Robbery is punishable by drowning, then exposing the dead body on a stake in public for days on end. Acts of impropriety against *iman*

(priests) are awarded burning-alive-at-the-stake punishment. Adultery or rape is handled sportingly with the offender made to stand in an open space, *gadubong* (a long-bladed knife) in hand, surrounded by former friends. If the accused can cut his way through his captors, he is freed. However, he is usually cut to pieces in a matter of minutes, then buried like a diseased buffalo.

Early friendship between the commercially aggressive Portuguese and the Atjeh soon soured over commercial interests at Malacca. Piratical conduct against Portuguese ships and properties soon brought the Portuguese into action. Jorge de Brito attempted to reclaim such properties in the early sixteenth century but was defeated by the stalwart Atjeh. Brito himself fell in battle, an arrow through his cheek and a lance through his thigh.

By 1522 Raja Ibrahim had developed a violent dislike for the Portuguese and thereafter indulged in it to excess. In a ruse which asked for and received Portuguese military aid, the cunning Ibrahim turned on his would-be allies and massacred them. The Portuguese were not without retaliation. In another battle, a siege laid against a Portuguese-held fort, Ibrahim tasted the excellence of the European military skill. Marsden describes it well in his *History of Sumatra:*

> The night time was preferred by these people [Atjeh] for making their attacks, as being then most secure from the effect of firearms, and they also generally chose a time of rain, when the powder would not burn. As soon as they found themselves perceived, they set up a hideous shout, and fixing their scaling ladders, made of bamboo, and wonderfully light, to the number of six hundred, they attempted to force their way through the embrasures for the guns; but after a strenuous contest they were at length repulsed. Seven elephants were driven with violence against the paling of one of the bastions, which gave way before them like a hedge, and overset all the men who were on it. Javalins and pikes these enormous beasts made no account of, but upon setting fire to powder under their trunks, they drew back with precipitation, in spite of all the efforts of their drivers; overthrew their own people; and flying to the distance of several miles, could not again be brought into the lines. The Achinese upon receiving this check, thought to take revenge by setting fire to some vessels that were in the dock yard; but this proved an unfortunate measure to them, for by the light which it occasioned, the garrison were enabled to point their guns, and did abundant execution.

Barbarity continued unabated between Atjeh and the Portuguese; it was a two-way affair. In the hands of the successor to Ibrahim, Alaeddin-shah, the persistence of Atjeh aims to overthrow the Portuguese

is epitomized. He laid siege to Malacca twice in 1537 and " . . . the sea was covered with dead, floating bodies. . . ."[14] A very brief lull in the hostilities bade the Portuguese to send two ships to Atjeh waters. There, together with a Dutch vessel, the Atjeh demonstrated their murderous tactics as they slipped aboard each of the ships and killed many of the crew while they slept. John Davis, pilot of one of the Dutch craft, recorded of the Atjeh when the attack was countered, " . . . how they were killed and how well they were drowned." The English fared much better with the Atjeh. Upon the appearance of their fleet in 1602, James Lancaster who commanded it was given a royal reception by the Atjeh monarch and given a gift of two *kris*.

Ala-eddin-shah lived to a reported age of ninety-five, which was too long for his son Muda who, impatient to succeed his father, imprisoned him and thus contributed to his death a short time later. Sultan Muda was, like his father, "passionately addicted to women, gaming and drink."[15] He surrounded himself with three thousand females whom he made his guards. His occupations were the "bath and chase" while affairs of state deteriorated. While friendly with the Dutch and English, whom he entertained with gory fights between elephants, tigers, and buffaloes, he was a cruel and sanguinary man who imprisoned his own mother whom he suspected of conspiring against him.

Sultan Muda gathered considerable military power. His fleets numbered thousands of ships, manned by scores of thousands of men. Some two thousand brass guns and small arms in proportion made up his arsenal. Hundreds of trained elephants led his warriors into battle. Two hundred horsemen patrolled his residential palace. By employment of a network of spies, he was able to gather valuable intelligence about his potential enemy and victim. So well laid were his military plans that they revealed nothing until executed. Marsden (*History of Sumatra*) summarizes the man: "Insidious political craft, and wanton delight in blood, united in him to complete the character of a tyrant."

In a sea battle in 1615 between the Atjeh and Portuguese, the Atjeh suffered a loss of fifty ships and twenty thousand men. Another attempt at Malacca also ended in disaster as the Atjeh flag ship *Terror of the World* was boarded and five hundred of her crew slaughtered. The Atjeh fleet was scuttled and scarcely a man escaped.

With the fall of Portuguese domination over Malacca at the hands of the Dutch (1641), the Atjeh Empire subsided and fell too, just as if the Portuguese strength had been necessary for her military vigor. What remained to function was of a significantly different character than the early empire and stood, as it does today, in lesser political consequence and military might than general history need record.

Early Chinese records tell of the country of Nakur, situated in West

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

Sumatra,[16] whose people were known as the people of "tattooed faces" because of their habit of adorning their faces with three-pointed green figures. W. P. Groeneveldt surmises that these reports refer to an advanced establishment of the Batak, those inhabitants of Sumatra who are in almost every way quite dissimilar to other natives of the island.

Batak land is bounded on the north by Atjeh country and by the Menangkabau domains in the south. It lies principally in the narrowest stretch of the island's upper neck in a mountainous region bordered on the east by the Straits of Malacca and on the west by the Indian Ocean.

In stature the Batak are a bit shorter than the Menangkabau. Their complexions, too, are fairer, perhaps due to the fact that they prefer not to frequent the sea, confining themselves by choice to the remote inland areas. Their origins are unknown though it is evident that both ancient Hindu and Chinese cultures influenced them. By their religion, which is strictly non-Islamic, they posit obscure principles of origin revolving around three deities as rulers of the world: Batara-guru, Sori-pada, and and Mangalla-bulang.[17]

The Batak are imbued with a strong sense of independence. However, contemptuous of authority imposed upon them, they exhibit a superstitious veneration for the Menangkabau rulers. They are governed by a supreme association of three *raja* who oversee countless petty chieftains. Disputes are frequent, and on the slightest provocation they indulge in their favorite occupation—warfare.

There is one rude cultural habit that makes the Batak unique on Sumatra. They are the only known *anthropophagi* (man-eaters) there. This horrible propensity has greatly declined in modern times, but cannot be said to be entirely absent. The custom is copiously recorded by the early records of Europeans: Nicolo Di Conti (1449): "In a certain part of this island [Sumatra] called Batech, the people eat human flesh. They are continually at war with their neighbors, preserve the skulls of their enemies as treasure, dispose of them as money, and he is accounted the richest man who has most of them in his house."[18] Odoardus Barbosa (1516): "There is another kingdom to the southward, which is the principal source of gold; and another inland, called Aaru [borders on Batak country] where the inhabitants are pagans, who eat human flesh, and chiefly of those they have slain in war."[19] De Barros (1563): "The natives of that part of the island which is opposite to Malacca, who are

16. The *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* of 1416 records much information about early Sumatra.

17. At the time when the earth was covered by water, the Batak believe, Batara-guru's daughter, named Puti-orla-bulan, descended from heaven to earth, but having no place to land her father let fall from heaven a mountain named Bakarra, which became a dwelling place for his child. From this mountain all other land proceeded and from Puti-orla-bulan's six children, born on earth, sprang the whole human race.

18. William Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press [3rd Ed.], 1966).

19. Ibid.

called Bats, eat human flesh and are the most savage and warlike of all the land."[20] Beaulieu (1622): "The inland people . . . eat human flesh; never ransom prisoners, but eat them with peppers and salt."[21]

The early Batak ate human flesh, not as a delicacy or to satisfy hunger; for them it was a ceremonial occasion. It was their way of showing their detestation of crimes and of punishing the culprit by an ignominious method. It was further a savage display of revenge and an insult to the unfortunate victim. Though the Batak fighting man did not specially spare enemy lives, unwounded prisoners were never eaten; they were sold as slaves. The wounded and slain were eaten with great relish, as were criminals (especially adulterers) of their own society.

Criminals were tried, and if sentenced, the *raja* sent a cloth to veil the victim's head as well as a dish of salt and many lemons. The victim was staked to a post and spears were hurled at him until he expired. Torture or unduly prolonged killing was not the custom. The Batak then surrounded the dead person, hacked the body to bits with their knives, dipped the pieces of flesh in the dish of salt and applied lemon juice and red pepper, and then broiled the hunks which they then ate in great satisfaction. Cases have been reported wherein fanatical savagery caused the Batak to tear flesh from a carcass directly with his teeth. A warm body, freshly slain, was preferred and devoured quickly. Skulls were hung as trophies but could be ransomed to the victim's family or friends.

Charles Miller, eighteenth-century botanist, reported a visit to Batak territory during which he saw the suspended head of a man whose body had been completely eaten a few days before; the head "was offensive to the smell." Miller further wrote: "In the *sapiyau* or building in which the *raja* receives strangers, we saw a man's skull hanging up which he told us was hung there as a trophy, it being the skull of an enemy they had taken prisoner, whose body they had eaten about two months ago."[22]

Giles Holloway, an English trader in Batak country, reported that on attempting collection of overdue accounts one Batak excused himself by saying that he would have paid sooner but had to stay to eat his share of a man who committed adultery with his wife . . . the ceremony took three days and it was just the past evening that the Batak had finished.[23]

W. Hayes made further recordings of Batak cannibalism. In a punitive action against a Batak chieftain named Punei Manungum at Negatimbul, Hayes found the bodies of one man and two women, both of

20. *Da Asia. Dos Feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram no descubrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*. Decado segunda, parte II (Lisbon, 1777).

21. William Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press [3rd Ed.], 1966).

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

whom had been captured by the chief and slain. All three bodies had large pieces missing from their thighs.

One of Hayes' *sepoy* had been killed by the Batak in the attack; Hayes had decided to leave the body until the chase subsided. Later he found the head of the *sepoy* fully scalped and hanging in a village, a finger transfixed upon a bamboo fork, still warm from a fire. A few hundred yards from this gruesome scene, Hayes found a large leaf full of human flesh, mixed well with lime juice and pepper. He had surprised the Batak in the act of eating the fallen *sepoy*.[24]

Miller's excursions into Batak country provide some of the first accounts by Europeans which deal extensively with the culture of these proud people. In regard to their habit of cannibalism Miller points out that Batak hospitality was of the highest order to both himself and the members of his group. In general, the Batak proved to be inoffensive and gave little disturbance to European trading establishments. He wrote of Terimbaru:

> The *raja* being informed of our intentions to come there, sent his son, and between thirty and forty men, armed with lances and match-lock guns, to meet us, who escorted us to their *kampong*, beating gongs and firing guns all the way.

And still along the same tone, of Sa-masam:

> . . . the *raja* of which place, attended by sixty or seventy men, well armed, met us and conducted us to his *kampong*, where he had prepared a house for our reception, treating us with much hospitality and respect.

The Batak of the Ankola district told Miller: "We indeed eat men as a punishment for their crimes and injuries to us; but they [Padambola district Batak] way-lay travellers in order to cut them up like cattle." Hayes too, when questioning Batak about their cannibalism received the following curt reply, " . . . you know it is our custom; why should we conceal it?"[25]

The order and peace of Batak society is well regulated. Theft among themselves is rare. Robbery and murder are punishable by death, as is adultery. When not engaged in war their society is free of tribal strife.

The Orang-ulu, as the Rejang are sometimes called, are inland natives composed of four principal tribes, which are traditionally recorded as having sprung from four brothers who, though separate, nevertheless stood united in efforts for defense of their lands. Their country lies somewhat geographically centered, perhaps a bit offset to the south,

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

bounded on the northwest by the kingdom of Anak Sungei, on the southeast by the Bencoolen River, and in the east by the Palembang River.

The Rejang, according to Marsden, are the most typical Sumatrans. They are below middle stature, well proportioned, and have small wrists and ankles. They are beardless,[26] and file and otherwise distort their teeth, stretch their ears, and flatten their heads. In general, they are stronger than coastal inhabitants, especially in the lower limbs. They are not particularly warlike and perhaps engage only in intertribal conflicts forced upon them. Possessed of a latent courage, the Rejang is aroused on the spur of the moment, a quality which permits him to perform desperate deeds in combat.

Rejang society is strictly regulated by voluntary submission to authority of those appointed who have qualified themselves for such positions of leadership. Religion plays no part in their government. Each *dusun* (village) is under a *dupati* (magistrate); the whole under a *pangeran* (chief). The laws are strict. If a man attempts to seize another in the act of robbery and touches his *kris,* these are crimes punishable by fine. If one injures another with a stick, he is fined. In a dispute which sees the *kris* drawn, he who draws first is guilty, and fined. A personal oath is highly valued among Rejang. Marsden reports in his *History of Sumatra* that a Rejang man is

> . . . impressed with an idea of invisible powers, but not of his own immortality, regards with awe the supposed instruments of their agency, and swears on *krises,* bullets, and gun barrels; weapons of personal destruction.

The *pangeran* of Sungei-lamo used a political oath of water in which copper bullets had been steeped; drunk by his chiefs to ensure their loyalty, the oath was irrevocable.

The chief weapons of the Rejang are the *kujur,* or spear, and *kris.* The latter weapon may be seen thrust through the sash around the midsection of every male Rejang as he meets the demands of daily life. Even boys less than fourteen years old may be seen wearing a *kris.* Both weapons are frequently objects of barter, and appear not to have personal involvements with the original owners.

On particular days, such as those which terminate a fast, war games are performed publicly. Preparatory to fencing matches with sticks and *kris,* and accuracy contests with the spear, the combatants practice strange rituals, using violent contortions of their bodies and acrobatic gyrations to work up a degree of frenzy; women often take part in these events. Little running or jumping is practiced, however, because of the

26. Artificially induced by prepuberty processes of using *chunam* (quick-lime) and plucking to kill hair roots.

great care they must take when moving bare-footed over the ground, which is covered with insects and thorny growth. The use of *ranjau* by enemy tribes also makes careful walking a necessity.

Personal feuds are the most usual causes for recourse to arms. Such is the traditionally recorded story about Raddin Siban, the head of a tribe in the district of Manna. Raddin had attempted to procure a young virgin for his brother who was in love with her, but the *pangeran* had managed the deal first and gave the girl to his brother, Lessut, as his bride. But the young girl herself was passionately in love with Raddin's brother and after her marriage managed to enjoy his bed. Lessut, discovering this affair, killed Raddin's brother to revenge the dishonor of his name. Two younger brothers of Raddin caught both Lessut and Raja Muda (younger brother of the *pangeran*) at a cockfight and challenged them by *kris*. Lessut was stabbed to death, but Raja Muda killed the aggressors though he himself suffered grave wounds. Raddin approached, spear in hand, and not seeing Raja Muda, went berserk upon viewing his dead brothers; he stabbed the already dead Lessut with his spear in a frenzy. Raja Muda, dying, crept up behind Raddin and stabbed him before expiring. Raddin closed his hand over the wound, walked away from the horrible scene, then died quietly. Some versions tell of Raja Muda's miraculous recovery, though he lived on as a deplorable cripple from his wounds.

The Lampong country, the area in the southern extremes of Sumatra which lies below a line extending from Palembang on the east coast to the Padang-guchi river in the west, confines various tribes which are of an unknown origin. These people show the strongest affinities to the Chinese, particularly in the facial contours and eyes. Tradition records their origins simply as "from the hills"; beyond this it is impossible to trace their ancestral background.

From early times onward, inhabitants of the Lampong have been harassed by higher culture areas, such as established on Java. They have in general been no match for these depredations, largely because they employ no firearms. They fight with spears long enough to require carrying by three men. The foremost acts as a guide for the point and covers himself and others with a huge shield. Ambush is their forte. *Kris, sewar,* spears, and blowpipes are the usual weapons, though the last named is used primarily for game.

The Lampong are governed in a feudal way by appointed leaders. The *panggau,* or "warrior," is a superior and has arbitrary authority over the people.

In the inland district of Samangka in the Strait of Sunda area lives a ferocious tribe called the Orang Abung, who are headhunters and take their ghastly trophies to their *dusun* for exhibition and ceremonies. Frequently engaged in warfare, all enemies who fall into their hands suffer the same fate—they are beheaded. Islam has penetrated these areas, but many of the natives still cling to their old primitive beliefs. Long

knives and spears are the dominant offensive weapons; the *ranjau* is used defensively.

The so-called Celates have played an important role in Indonesian (especially Sumatran) weapons and fighting-art development.[27] Matthes warned (in 1872) that sea nomads, such as the Celates, were very rapidly losing their identity and that it would soon be impossible to learn or even infer anything about their origins and history.[28] Today this proclamation has all but come true in relation to their weapons and fighting arts. Only by close examination of old records can some important bits be learned.

That the Celates were most respected and feared as pirates can be gleaned from old Portuguese records which usually define them as a " . . . wild, treacherous, evil-hearted, piratical people, hated by the sedentary population of the coast."[29] The rapid rise of Malacca's importance as a transshipment point for cargo from east Asia to India at the end of the fourteenth century had seen Majapahit control extended to the coastal regions of Malaya, eastern Sumatra, western Borneo, and the islands of the South China Sea; after 1389 this power declined quickly in favor of the Portuguese.

Earliest records, such as those of Joao de Barros (*Da Asia*), tell that after the Parameswara[30] fled Singapore he took with him " . . . a people called Celates [Cellates], persons who live on the sea, whose occupation is robbing and fishing. . . ." Still earlier Chinese records (*Ying-yai Sheng-lan*) speak of " . . . inhabitants . . . skilled in fighting on the water and therefore their neighbors fear them." Godinho d'Eredia (1613), reported of the Celates, "They were a wild, cannibal race, who inhabited the coast of Ujontana [Singapore]. . . ."[31] Most detailed are the writings of Baretto de Resende, a bit later in the seventeenth century:

> These Saletes are a wicked people and especially so to the Portuguese. They are evil-hearted and treacherous and the best spies the Dutch possess. Wherever, of the many places in this vicinity, our ships may be, they immediately inform the Dutch and lead

27. The word Celates (Selates) is the Portuguese plural as derived from the expression Orang Selat, the Malay name meaning "the people of the Singapore and Batam straits." David Sopher has made an adequate reportage on the origins and derivations of the name in his *Sea Nomads* (Singapore National Museum, 1965).

28. "Boegineesche en Makassarsche Legenden," *Bidjdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 34 (1885).

29. Tomè Pires, *Suma Oriental* (1512–15).

30. A Javanese nobleman who fled Java after his unsuccessful coup and settled on the Malay Peninsula, there to become overlord of Singapore and Malacca by using the Celates to control shipping between Sumatra and Malaya.

31. "Eredia's Description of Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay" (Translated from Portuguese and annotated by J. V. Mills, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 8 [April 1930]).

> them there; so that most of our losses are due to them. This is because the Dutch give a great share of all thus seized, and thus it is very necessary that our fleets of *jaleas* [men-of-war] and ships that go to these straits to wait for the said fleets should make war as much as possible on these Saletes and drive them from these parts.[32]

It is natural that the Portuguese would paint the most terrible picture of the Celates, for in the "guerrilla warfare on the high seas" the Celates were urged and sometimes financed not only by European commercial and political enemies of Portugal but by Sumatran kingdoms as well, who feared Portuguese expansion.

The Celates were the indigenes of the straits, having base camps on Singapore, the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago, the coastal areas of the Malay Peninsula, and on the east coast of Sumatra, especially in the area between the mouths of the Rokan and Kampar rivers. Portuguese accounts imply that the Celates did not frequent the Lampong, Batak, or Atjeh coasts.

In all accounts, however, there are contained specific references to the fighting skills, weapons, and ferocity of the Celates. It is highly probable that because of their nomadic life the Celates were exposed to a great number of different weapons and combative employments from the people they were in contact with (friendly or otherwise), and would therefore become the possessors of a wide range of weapons and tactics. Perhaps because of the Celates there was a more positive transfer of weapons and tactics between Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. The relations of the Celates to the wild inhabitants of the Malay coasts, such as the Jakun, and the cultural mixing of the Celates with the forest peoples, must be taken into account.

■ Menangkabau

The Menangkabau warrior (Fig. 79) is feared—and therefore respected—throughout the Indonesian Archipelago. Fighters of great skill and tenacity, their preference is for the bladed weapon. The modern-day native is never without weapons. Traveling along the mountain roads, he is always ready for instant defense. By his garment, the *sarong*, he can strike, mask, or bind an assailant. With his umbrella, called the *pajung*, he can block, parry, or strike. In use of the *pisau belati* (Fig. 80), a short-bladed knife, he becomes an effective knife fighter.

The *tombak, lambing, kujur* (sometimes *kunjur*), are Menangkabau spear names. The *pedang, rudus, pamandap*, and *kĕletwang* are swords, carried slung at the side. The *sewar* and *sakin*, as well as the *pisau belati*,

32. David Sopher, *The Sea Nomads* (Singapore National Museum, 1965).

79. A Menangkabau warrior.

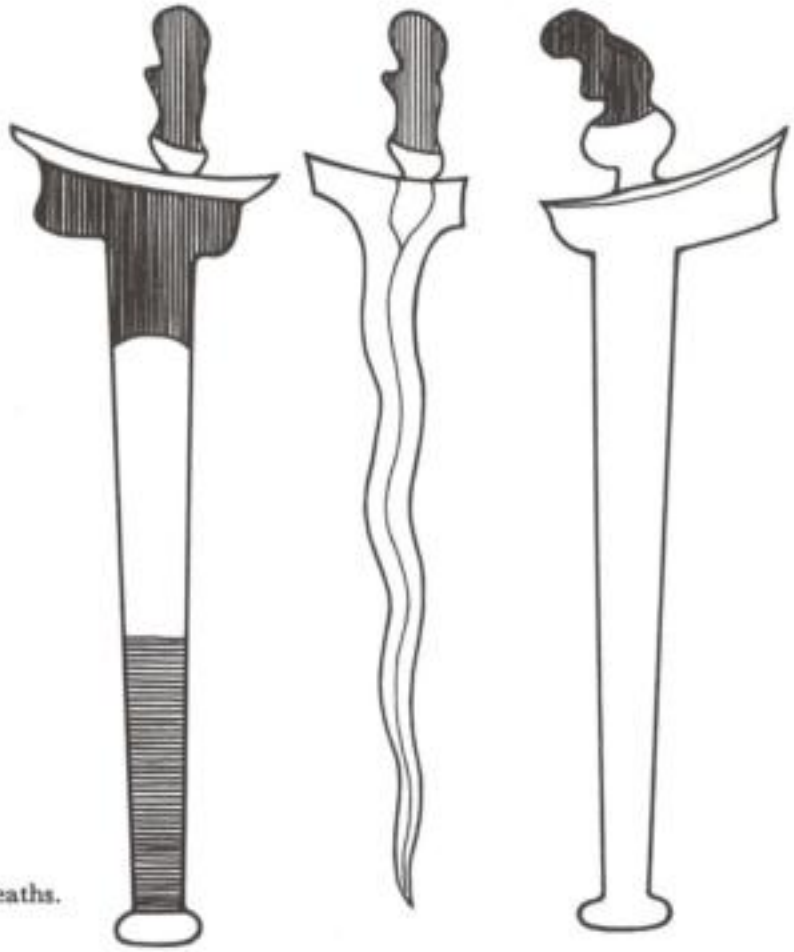
are short-bladed knives used for close-quarter fighting and assassinations (see Figs. 86, 87).

A Menangkabau *kris* differs somewhat from the Javanese and Balinese types. The blade is generally about fourteen inches in length, not entirely straight but not especially forged in a marked curve. The blade is wavy (Fig. 81). Its finish is not smooth and the usual process of polishing is neglected. The *pamur* process is produced by beating together, during forging, steel and iron and then after cooling, etching with acids. The temper of the blade is pronounced hardness, a quality which makes the blade a bit brittle. Handles or heads of the *kris* are fashioned from ivory, the tooth of the *duyong* (sea-cow) or *kuda ayer* (hippopotamus), black coral, or fine-grained wood. Handles are carved in the shape of curious figures and ornamented with gold and copper mixtures called *swasa*. The beak of a bird set on a body with humanlike arms is a favorite handle theme for carving. The sheath is formed from beautiful hardwood, hollowed out, and neatly laced with split *rotan* (rattan). It may be stained red around the lower part, sometimes plated with gold.

The value of the *kris* to the Menangkabau fighter is proportionate to the number of bodies it has penetrated. It is a mystically sacred and venerated object. It is placed on a cushion at the head of the bed when the fighter sleeps.

In general terms, all the dominant blade weapons of Sumatra show differences from those in eastern Indonesia. To begin with, the *kris* in

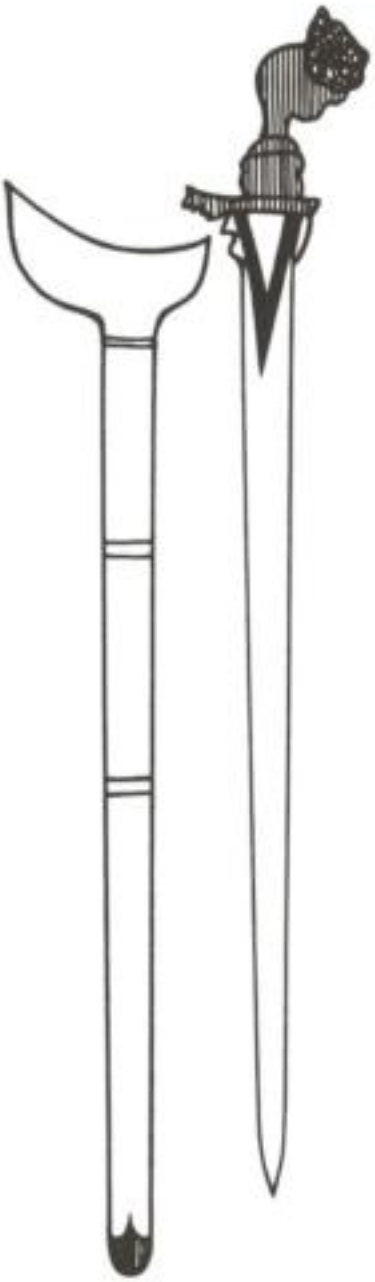
80. The Menangkabau *pisau belati.*



81. Menangkabau *kris* and sheaths.

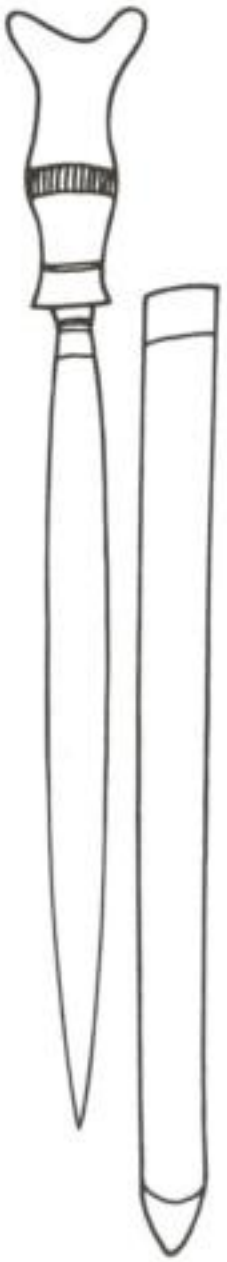
Sumatra is of two types, the *kris pangang* (Fig. 82) and the *kris bahari.* The former is a long, rapierlike blade, flat and narrow, often exhibiting a raised rib running the length of the blade's midline axis. Its handle is decorative and most commonly made out of horn or ivory. The *kris bahari* is what may loosely be described as a large variety of the Javanese *kris pichit.*

Smaller, evil-looking blades abound in Sumatra beyond what they do on Java or Bali. The *tombak lada* (Fig. 83) is said to be of Sumatran origin. It has a thick, flat blade, and its handle is usually adorned with a parrot-head figure. It is sometimes called the *lading,* but the name is more properly reserved for blades made from an old spearhead and fitted to a handle. The *tombak lada* and the *lading* (Fig. 84) are double-edged with blade lengths varying from eight to sixteen inches. The *beladau* (Fig. 85) is a curved dagger with a convex cutting edge. It is extremely dangerous at close quarters and is used in a ripping fashion into the midsection of the enemy. The *sewar* (Fig. 86) is a gracefully arced blade, slender and used for thrusting actions. Another knife, the *sakin* (Fig. 87), resembles the *sewar* in general contour except that it



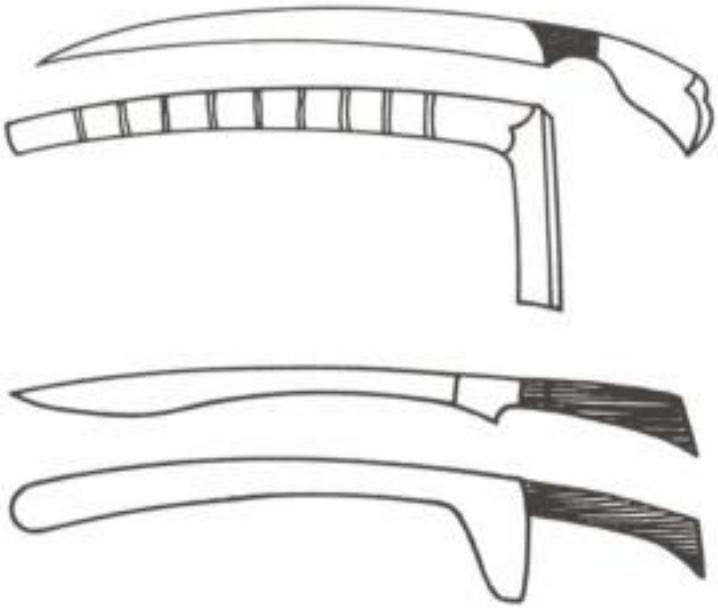
82. The Sumatran *kris pangang* and sheath.

83. The Sumatran *tombak lada*.

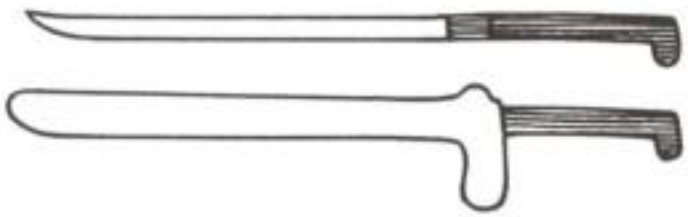


84. The double-edged *lading* and sheath.

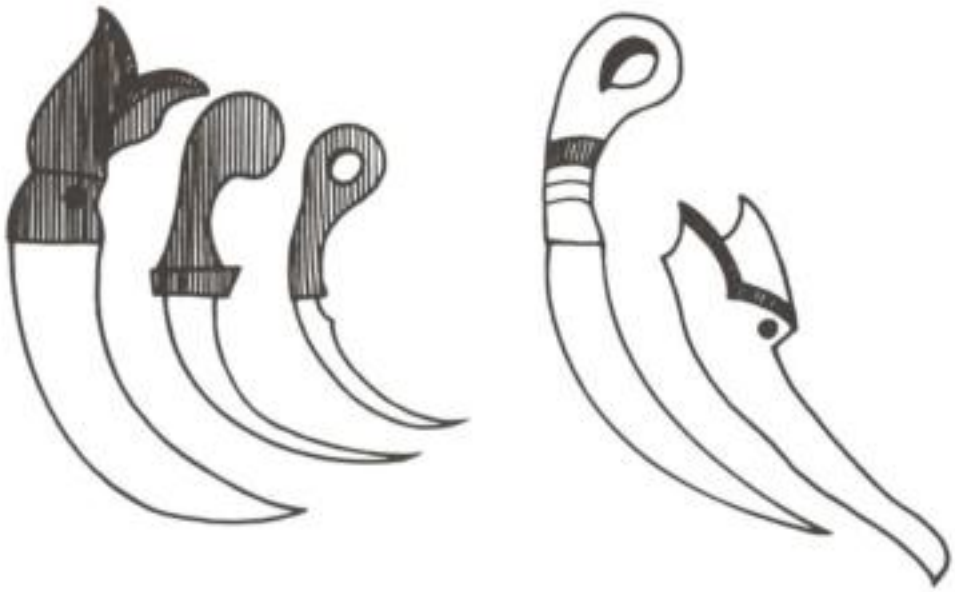
85. The curved *beladau* dagger.



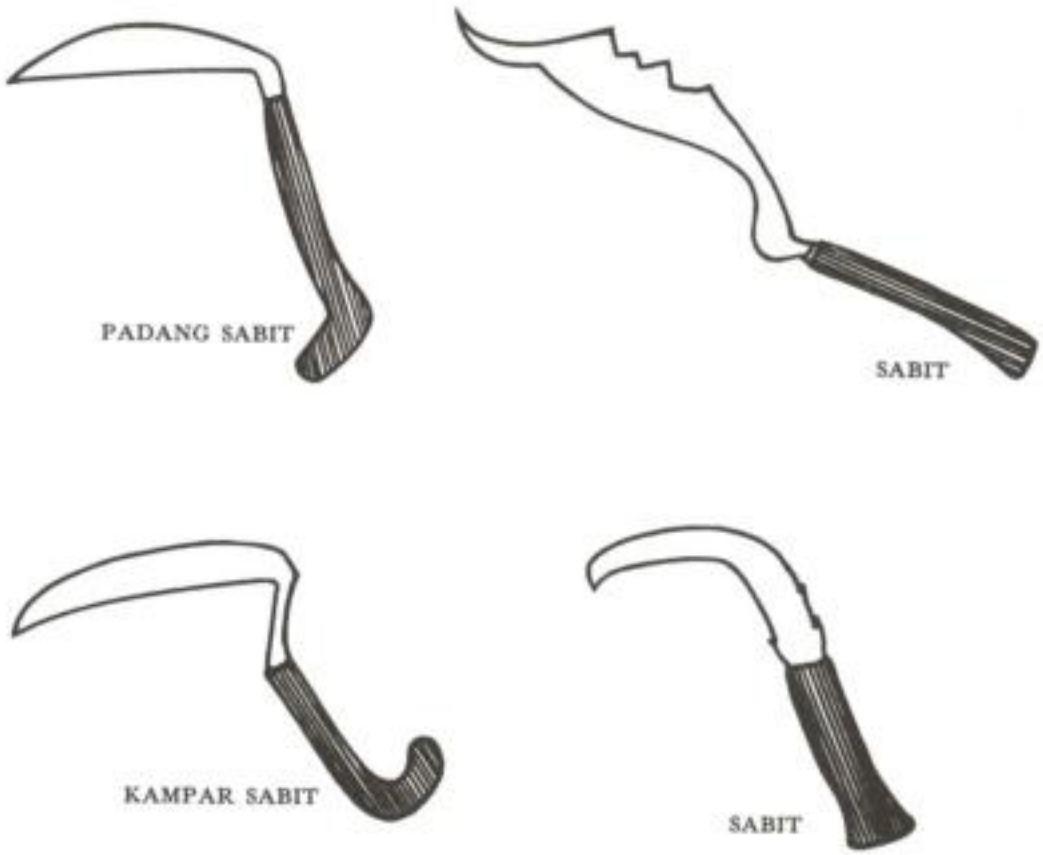
86. *Sewar* with arced blades.



87. The straight-bladed *sakin*.



88. *Karambit*, "tiger's-claw" type weapons.



89. Menangkabau *sabit* agricultural tools and weapons.

possesses a straight blade. Most vicious of the lot is the "tiger's-claw" type weapon. Known as the *karambit* (Fig. 88), it is a curving knife modeled after the Arab *jambia.* It is gripped with the hilt perpendicular to the ground, thumb over the cap. The forefinger is inserted in a hole at the head of the hilt. The blade extends outward, convex surface to the right when held in the right hand. The *karambit* is used in an upward, ripping manner into the bowels of the victim.

Menangkabau agricultural tools serve admirably as effective weapons. The *sabit,* or sickle-type blades, are common. There are several varieties (Fig. 89). The *padang sabit* and the *kampar sabit* are notable. The latter type is curious insofar as design features are concerned. It can be seen as a "three dimensional" instrument, that is, the blade lying in a different plane than the hafting, which itself is angularly joined to occupy two specifically different planes.

From their earliest times the Menangkabau have manufactured arms for their own use and to supply the enormous Atjeh demand in the northernmost province of Sumatra. They mine, smelt, process, forge, and finalize by their own methods the necessary iron and steel. Portuguese records mention the use of cannon; it is established that the Menangkabau had this knowledge prior to the discovery of the passage from Europe by the Cape of Good Hope.

Matchlocks were their first productions. Well-tempered barrels with true bores are evident.[33] Shooting technique required the sighting to be done by lowering the muzzle to the target rather than raising it. They used the Dutch *snapang* to refer to their pieces. Gunpowder was made, too, but its quality was reported as inferior.[34] Some cannon were also substandard.

At Padang Luar are iron mines, the ore of which was used for the manufacture of weapons, but had to be hand carried to Selimpuwong where it underwent smelting processes. European weapons, while used, did not gain full favor due to the fact that ammunition was difficult to replace. It was far easier to rely upon native-made firearms for which ammunition was stocked.

The *pendagang* is a hardwood instrument made of *rujung* (a palm) wood. It is used as a yoke by persons to carry loads in coolie fashion. The word means "merchant." It is also an excellent weapon which can instantly be brought into use by simply dumping the load being carried. The best *pendagang* come from the Mentawai Islands. There, after a long process of soaking pieces of *rujung* wood in coconut oil (three years), the yoke is fashioned; craftsmen are in demand.

Though there is a specific geographical area marking the core of Menangkabau country, the people can be found in other places. Marsden, in the eighteenth century, wrote in his *History of Sumatra:* "On the eastern side of the island they are settled at the entrance of almost all navigable rivers, where they more conveniently indulge their habitual bent for trade and piracy." Their native country is mountainous. Nature's environmental forces have made it necessary, no matter the area of residence, for the Menangkabau to have strong legs. If found in mountainous regions, their *dusun* are always situated on the bank of a river or lake and atop of an eminence difficult to ascend for security reasons. Their houses are usually elevated some ten or twelve feet above the ground, held aloft on piles. Here, safe from intrusion by wild beast (tigers and reptiles abound) or hostile man, they daily make many ascents and descents by use of a solitary piece of notched timber. The light scaling ladder is hastily hauled up in time of emergency.

The Menangkabau fighter has unbelievable strength and recoil speed in his legs. He can be seen fishing in the streams, lakes, or coastal areas using only his feet to kill fish that venture too close as he stands in

33. Barrels were wrought by wrapping a flattened bar of iron spirally round a circular rod and hammering until it united as a tube. No rifling process was used in the earliest models. These early barrels exhibit uncommon strength and practicability. Specimens may be seen in the public museum in Bukittinggi.

34. Perhaps the proportion of mixture or the physical properties, such as granulation size, detracted from its propellent properties. The pieces may also have been less than efficient in chambering, or the nature of the ammunition used such that muzzle velocity and muzzle energy was less than optimum. Naturally, today both modern firearms and ammunition are superior and much sought after.

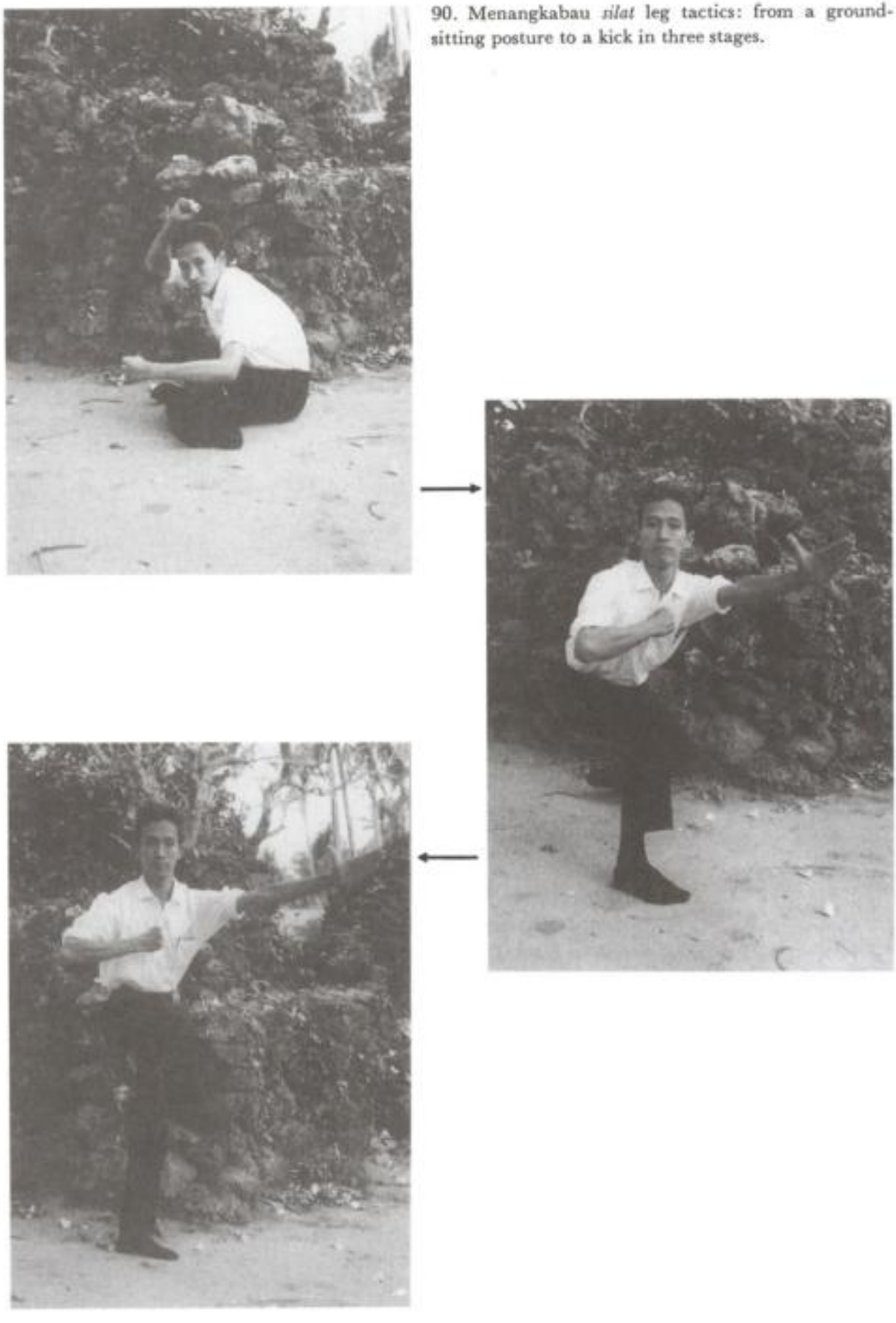
shallow water. Delivering kicks rapidly with a stunning effect, he kills fish with one blow. A special feature of eastern coastal areas is the Menangkabau use of a mudboard for swift movement over the flats exposed at low ebb.[35] Kneeling he may propel the craft by one hand and foot in a pushing manner, or with both feet. He is able to do this for hours on end without rest. Menangkabau leg strength and flexibility is also put to good use in his hand-to-hand combative forms.

It is not surprising therefore, to find that Menangkabau *pentjak-silat* relies heavily upon leg tactics. Deep crouch and ground-sitting postures (*depok* and *sempok*) appear to the attacker to place the Menangkabau fighter in a position of disadvantage (Fig. 90). But he can, in a flash, come out of his low ground-sitting posture into action with kicking tactics that are both deceptive and dangerous to the uninitiated. The tactic is applied in various ways by a great majority of Indonesian *pentjak-silat* systems. (For an interesting discussion concerning variations see p. 152.) So pronounced are such leg tactics that the expression *sidongkak* is a dialectal word. *Si* (he or she) and *dongkak* (to kick) refer to the people in the Pajakumbuk area who breed the best horses in all Sumatra. All *pentjak-silat* in that area feature powerfully fast, horselike kicking actions.

Though reliance is upon leg tactics, it must not be mistakenly supposed that the Menangkabau fighter does not use (or is ineffective with) his hands and arms (Fig. 91). Hand and arm actions are exceedingly fast and skillful. By one training method, one expert stands some twenty feet from a training partner who throws sharpened sticks at him. He who receives them does so with a deliberate minimum of body action and, coupled to hand actions (which are made freely) that catch the sticks in midair, circularly reversing the sticks and redirecting their trajectories back to the original thrower, develops great finesse with his hands. When high skill is attained, the sticks are replaced by knives. A quantity of limes is always kept present. The juice of this acid fruit is used to clean the inevitable blood stains from the blades.

Geographically speaking, of the twenty-three major styles of *pentjak-silat* found in Sumatra, the vast majority centers on the Menangkabau land area. Generally known as MENANGKABAU, SILAT MENANGKABAU, or SILAT PADANG, the Menangkabau styles are the technical core for all

35. The mudboard is a plank device about six feet in length and about two feet wide; it is sometimes slightly curved at its fore-end. The device is used by strand-collecting boat nomads, such as reported by J. H. Tobias, "Verslag van eenen togt naar Lingga, Reteh en Manda," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde,* 10 (1861), of the Orang Kuala, and by J. G. Schot ("Het stroomgebeid der Kateman. Bijdrage tot de kennis van Oost-Sumatra," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde,* 29 [1884]). G. R. G. Worcester (*The Junks and Sampans of the Yangtze. A Study in Chinese Nautical Research. Vol. I: Introduction; and craft of the Estuary and Shanghai area,* Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, 1947) reports a similar device he calls a "mud-touching boat" known to first century B.C. Chinese in the Yangtze delta area shores of Tungting Hu.



90. Menangkabau *silat* leg tactics: from a ground-sitting posture to a kick in three stages.

91. The use of hands and arms in Menangkabau *silat*.

Sumatran *pentjak-silat*. Actually, there are very few Indonesian forms of *pentjak-silat* untouched by Menangkabau styles. The latter, as progressively developed extensions of the early and crude *silat* Melayu, provide the mechanical bases for *pentjak-silat* throughout the archipelago.

Menangkabau *pentjak-silat* is clothed in mystic values. The nature of such belief in the supernatural is dependent upon its religious base; most commonly, the Muslim faith. All Menangkabau forms appeal to a magic quality called *bathin* (spirit), which is invoked to protect one's self and to cloud the enemy so that he may be readily defeated.

It should be understood that Sumatran *pentjak-silat* can and does employ all the standard weapons. Each specific geographical area has its own local and special weapons, but by and large it is the Menangkabau local weaponry that is applied by all *pentjak-silat* forms in Sumatra.

92. Tiger-style tactics of Harimau *silat* in use: from stalking (a) to attack (e) (5 views)

Most typically Menangkabau perhaps is HARIMAU *silat*. The name means "tiger." The style is sometimes also called *silat kuching* (cat), but the tiger connotation is more popular. This unusual style centers in the Painan area. He who sees it for the first time will no doubt marvel at the curious antics of the combatants, who prefer to occupy recumbent and semirecumbent positions on the ground in imitation of a tiger's stalking actions preparatory to jumping its prey (Fig. 92a–e). The style is said to have developed out of the necessity for combat on wet and highly slippery surfaces where upright stances are impractical; also to offset the eventuality of falling down on the ground from upright combat, there to be helpless and in danger of losing one's life.

(b)

(c)

(d)

(e)

In executing the ground tactics the HARIMAU fighters find their legs all important. Postures, movement, attack and defense tactics, all depend on strong, flexible legs. HARIMAU exponents are possessed of exceptionally developed legs, made so by their daily climbing of mountains and sitting in full-squat positions.

The HARIMAU exponent reasons that an enemy standing has but two foundations—his feet. On slippery earth they are inadequate. The HARIMAU exponent, on the ground, tigerlike, has five foundations—his two feet, two hands, and his back, which are completely reliable under such adverse conditions as wet and slippery earth. His stability is thus supreme while that of his enemy precarious.

The style is deceptive and many an upright attacker is surprised by the quick defeat rendered by his "tiger" foe. The ground-hugging HARIMAU fighter is evasive, clever, and not the "sitting duck" he appears to be. The speed and power of his legs and feet can demolish an ordinary upright defense. But HARIMAU exponents are not completely without skills in an upright posture. However, given the chance, they will voluntarily drop to the ground to continue the fight from there. By their use of sickle, hooking, reaping, and kicking actions of their feet and legs, they can repel the enemy. Caught sitting naturally from the rear by a sneak attack, the HARIMAU expert can by his legs alone defend himself. Most of the use of the hands is for short actions of a block-and-parry nature, or to provide support points for the body.

STERLAK *silat* is a system, the name of which implies "to attack with strength." The entire basis of this powerful fighting form is contained in the expression: *Sakalipan gadjah menlintang, gadjah rabah.* This means "An elephant in the way, it is knocked down." The STERLAK exponent is taught to imitate the fury of a herd of stampeding elephants, combining that with the wariness of the stalking tiger. The system appears to have Chinese antecedents of the *hsing-i* variety, and was developed as a countermeasure to the dangerous HARIMAU style. Trainees are concerned with applying the whole body force behind the fist, foot, or head in making their attacks. Tradition tells of STERLAK experts who have fought and defeated tigers in the Sumatran jungles. The system's best exponents are to be seen in the coastal area of west-central Sumatra between Padang and Bengkulu.

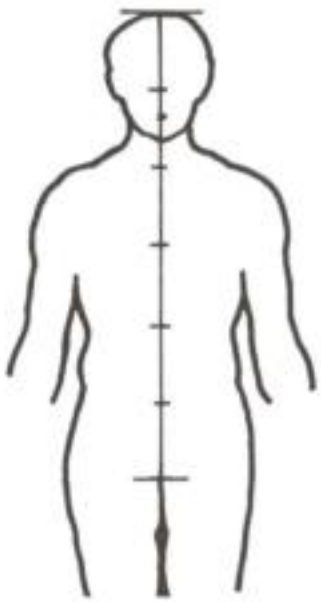
SANDANG *silat,* or "hands style," is an old system developed as an answer to the dynamic STERLAK *silat.* Its present teachings are secret and it is rarely exhibited. The system depends on evasionary measures which seek not to oppose the fury of the STERLAK fighter, but to misdirect him (Fig. 93).

The Padang area in Menangkabau country contains the hotbed of *pentjak-silat* styles. PAUH *silat* is one of its typical forms. Characteristics of this style include a pattern of stepping movements in advancing, retreating, or turning, which follows an imaginary square figure on the ground (Fig. 94). Readiness for combat is signified by thigh-slapping.

93. Sandang *silat* (in black) versus Sterlak *silat* (3 views).

94. The "imaginary square" of Pauh *silat*.

95. Two views of the locked thumb in Pauh *silat*.



96. Center-line targets in Pauh *silat*.

Upon actual engagement the free hand is usually held to protect the groin. All in all the form appears to have considerable Hindu-grappling influence. The locked thumb is used as a striking surface, with great shock effect, into chosen target areas (Fig. 95). Vital points along the enemy's center line are the major areas of assault (Fig. 96). Those areas are measured by using the span distance between the outstretched thumb and forefinger as a guide. Beginning at a point between the eyes, the hand with outstretched thumb and forefinger is "walked" down the center line of the body. Where either thumb or forefinger touch are vital points.

The TJAMPUR *silat* of the Padang area is as functional as it is insidious. Its name implies "combined" to indicate clearly that it is a synthesis form. By borrowing liberally from both Chinese *kuntao* and *pentjak-silat* of many types, it is perhaps the only Chinese-developed *pentjak-silat* form in Indonesia that has attained an important status.

TJAMPUR's underlying precept is aggressiveness based on premeditated assault. As such it depends entirely on surprise tactics made at close range against an unsuspecting victim. Unsavory as this may be to the more sporting minded, TJAMPUR exponents are tuned entirely toward the defeat of the enemy; to offer him any concessions or advantage is to them purely hypocritical humbug.

It is largely a one-victim system. TJAMPUR permits only one step to be taken backward during engagement with an enemy. Therefore, being a direct power system, it contains little evasionary action. Guan Tjai, a Padang area old-timer and expert of the TJAMPUR system, in an interview, told of correct use of arms and feet which make the system functional:

> TJAMPUR *silat* considers a very limited number of vital points on the enemy's body. The centerline targets, from top of the head to the groin, are adequate. Four hard points of the operator's body are the primary weapons by which to block and strike: the two elbows and the two knees. If the enemy is strong and feared, he must be attacked under the pretense of friendly approach and when he is completely off guard. There must be no warning such as preparatory cocking of the arm or hand for striking. For example, it would be good TJAMPUR technique to show an enemy a book and while he was accepting it or examining it, to strike into his eyes, or to knee or kick him in the groin.

Posture and movement permit the operator great freedom in which TJAMPUR is to be applied. Yet, there appears to be some tendency to begin by a low-level posture which uncoils like a spring as the attack is made. Attacks are decided upon by prefight concentration to unify both spirit and mind. The application of full energies (mental and physical) to the target at hand is required. Once the TJAMPUR expert's mind is

made up, it is believed by him that there is no defense to his attack. Even a highly developed eye reflex in the enemy will be of no avail; good TJAMPUR technique cannot be seen. So strong is TJAMPUR technique that there is no partner sparring practice possible. All that may be practiced is a slowmotion type of action.

To turn back or to take more than one step backward while in combat is considered weakness by TJAMPUR experts. Aside from the one step permitted, the expert is always advancing. The slide-step is used as terrain permits. Profile stances are favored because the frontal stance is seen to expose the maximum target area to an enemy. The hands may deliver multiple strikes by use of ricochet technique—one strike rebounded off its target directly into another target. There are no backhand actions considered or used by TJAMPUR exponents. Frequently both hands may be used in open fashion to push-press against the hips or back of the enemy to nullify his movement. Hands thrusting or pressing against the midsection of the enemy to off-balance him may also be augmented by shoving with the head. Kicking is never directed higher than the enemy's groin; to do otherwise, the TJAMPUR exponent believes, is to expose one's self to possible counterattack.

Because the system is so markedly aggressive and so dangerous, trainees are permitted TJAMPUR study only after they have completed years of training in various other Menangkabau styles. This experience serves them well. By such technical knowledge and ability, they are able to make TJAMPUR precombat evaluations of their chosen enemy and to attack him at his weakest points. TJAMPUR applicants are subject to a severe screening process and final acceptance by the master teacher. Good character is a prime requisite for acceptance.

BARU *silat* is also a Padang-area fighting art. A synthesis, it takes its technical base from STERLAK tactics but places heavy reliance upon newer foreign ideas, such as found in Japanese *karate-dō* and *jūjutsu*. The name suggests that this is so; it implies "new place." BARU *silat* is a popular form among young men. It is a light evasive system with emphasis on hand actions to block, parry, and cover while maneuvering for a climax action. Defensive by nature, the BARU exponent will prefer to await an attack and then go into action (Fig. 97). This mode of defense requires speedy reflexes and the BARU expert demonstrates such assets by being able to block or parry a frontal snap-kick before it can reach its intended target.

Catching and seizure are important tactics of the BARU system. Often the enemy's arm is seized and struck with brutal force in a reverse action against the elbow. Catching or seizure leads to throwing techniques, usually preceded by trips or hooking actions made with the legs, as in the photograph.

PARAIMAN *silat* adheres more to the Menangkabau reliance upon foot tactics than do some of the other forms today. Kicking actions in this style of *pentjak-silat* are always in two phases. The first of these is a

97. Baru *silat* defense: blocking, striking, and seizing (*top to bottom*).

demonstrative or lure-type kick made to deceive the enemy The second kick by the same leg is intended to injure or kill. PARAIMAN *silat* is one of the lesser varieties of fighting that do not have great popularity. Similar is the "three steps," or LANGKA-TIGA *silat* style. As its name suggests, this form uses three-step fundamental positioning patterns. Most likely it stems from a *kuntao* base. The BAGALOMBANG DUA-BLAS, or "twelve rolling waves," *silat* attempts to copy the continuous action of waves. Twelve basic elements make up its repertoire. TORPEDO *silat* is an interesting modern form which lives up to its name. Attacks are straight-line delivered and with the forcefulness of an explosion on contact.

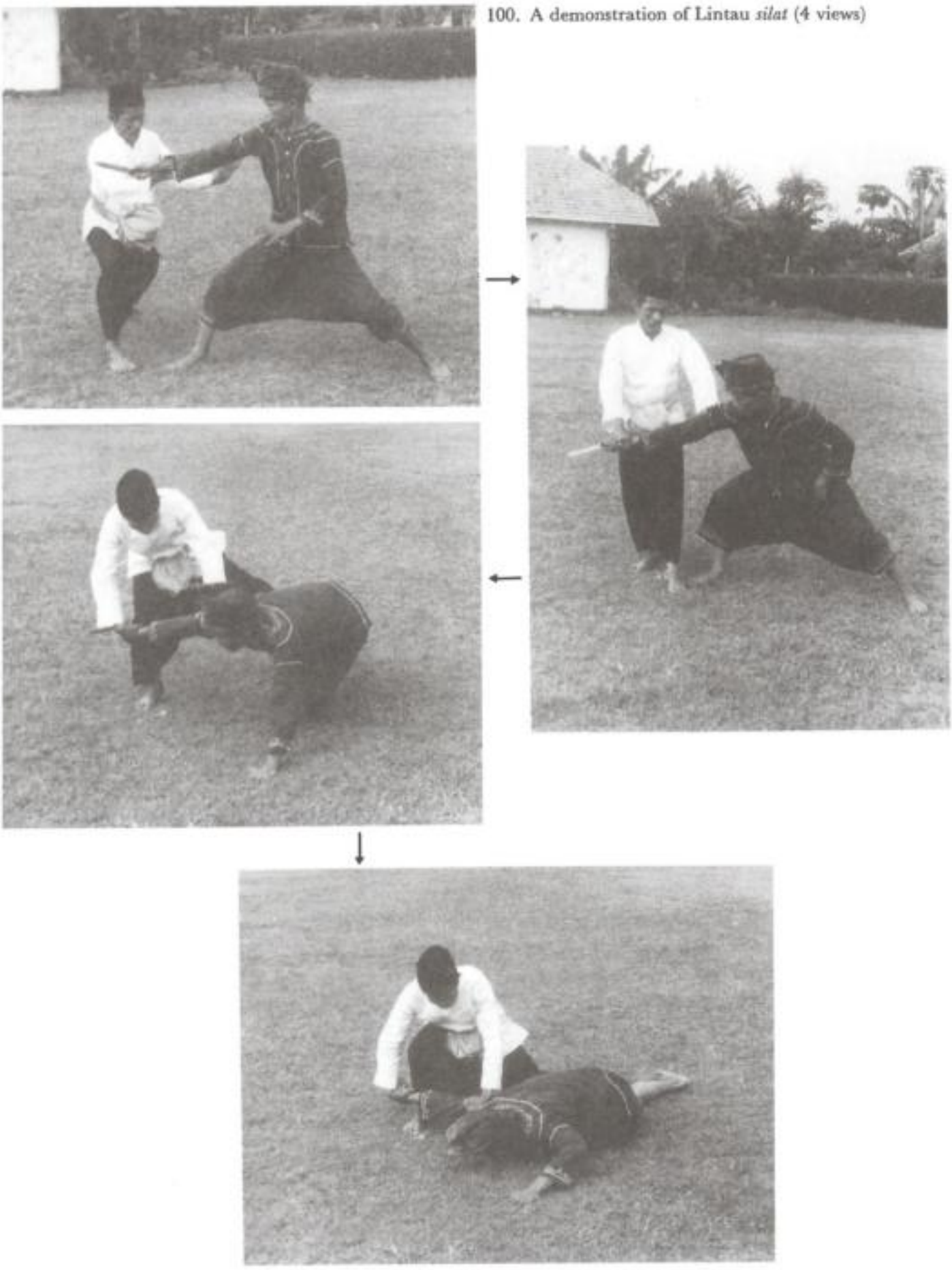
Bukittinggi (Fordekok) is a mountainous area in the cultural heart of the Menangkabau area. It houses some original *pentjak-silat* forms which typify Sumatran fighting. KUMANGO *silat* of the Bukittinggi-Batusangkar area is well known. It is composed of characteristically Menangkabau footwork which puts the operator close in on the enemy so that seizure can be followed by striking and/or throwing attacks. Soft, flexible action typifies the KUMANGO tactics. An expert can escape from almost any imposed situation of holds, joint-locks, or choking attacks. He uses an evasive "giving in," but immediately redirects the situation to his advantage. Amidst this softness, hardness of action appears. There is much here to strongly suggest a combination of the *t'ai-chi ch'üan* silkiness and flow with the abrupt and choppy Hokkien short-arm tactics. Both of these *kuntao* forms may have influenced KUMANGO. But there is also a definite Hindu influence. Similar to the pre-engagement actions of the PAUH system, here in KUMANGO will be found the thigh-slapping and use of the free hand to protect the groin (Fig. 98).

There is some use of side-facing stances. Occasionally, on turning his back to the enemy, the KUMANGO exponent will cover his neck with one hand to avoid rear-choking attacks. Blocking and parrying is directed against the outside of the enemy's arms to turn him against his free arm and limit its counterattack usage. The KUMANGO operator will use his elbow to block the knee or foot of the enemy's kicking leg. Generally the leg and fist of the KUMANGO expert work together; while the foot or leg is hooking or tripping the enemy's leg, the fist is moving into its target. The vital areas of the enemy most favored as targets by the KUMANGO operator are the center-line points of the throat, solar plexus, and groin. The "high-low" response is used in connection with counterattacks. If the enemy attacks high—to the KUMANGO exponent's face—he will kick, and vice-versa. This tactic has also been adopted by TJAMPUR *silat*. The forward step of the KUMANGO exponent may be deceptive. At times he will appear to place the foot, only to swing a powerful kick (Fig. 99) before the actual weighting of that foot takes place. Catching and levering by throwing actions against the enemy's arm are applied frequently, and such tactics have no pity for the manner of the enemy's fall, which in itself can be disabling.

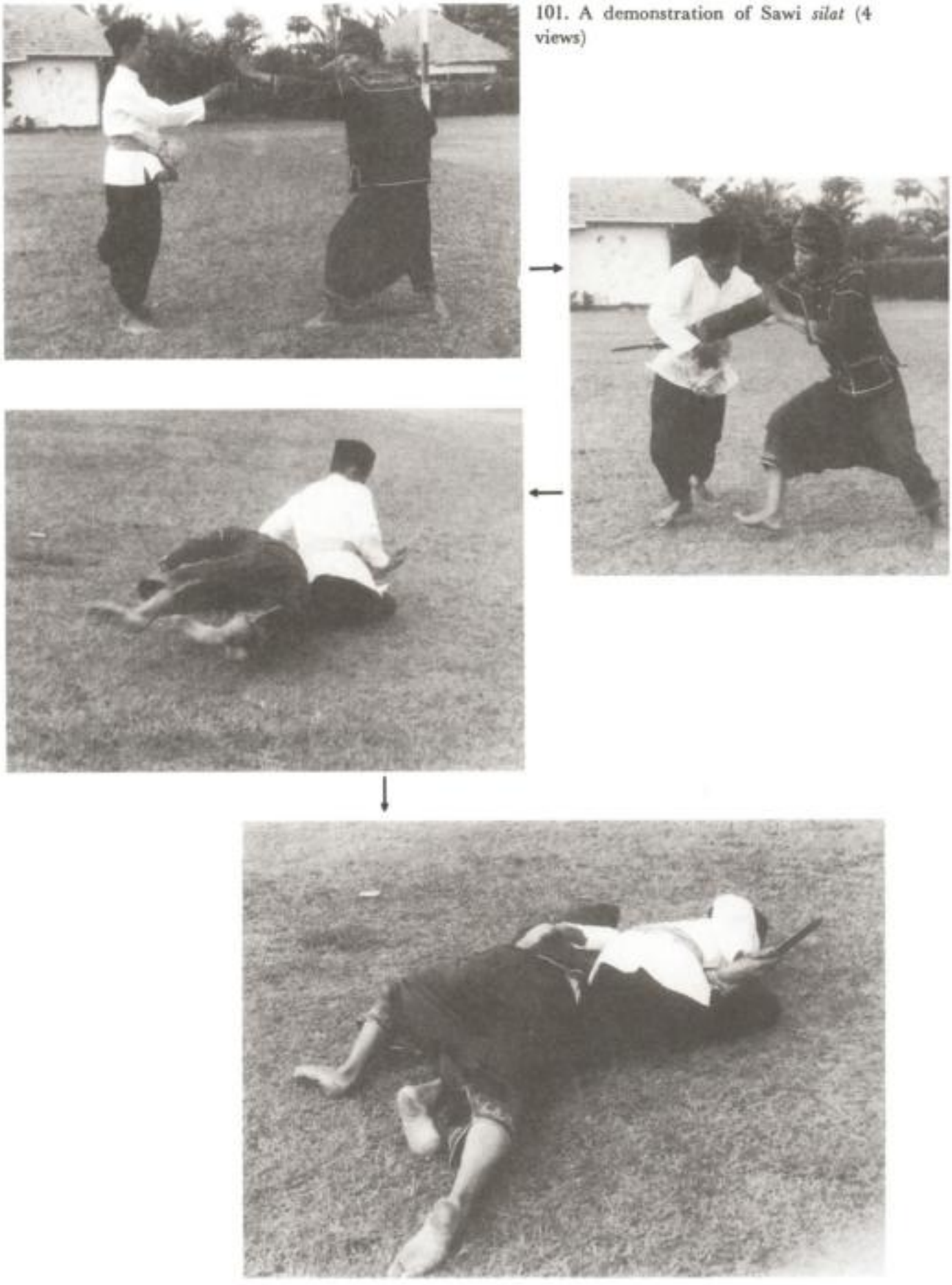
98. Thigh slapping of Kumango *silat*.

99. The deceptive forward step of Kumango *silat*.

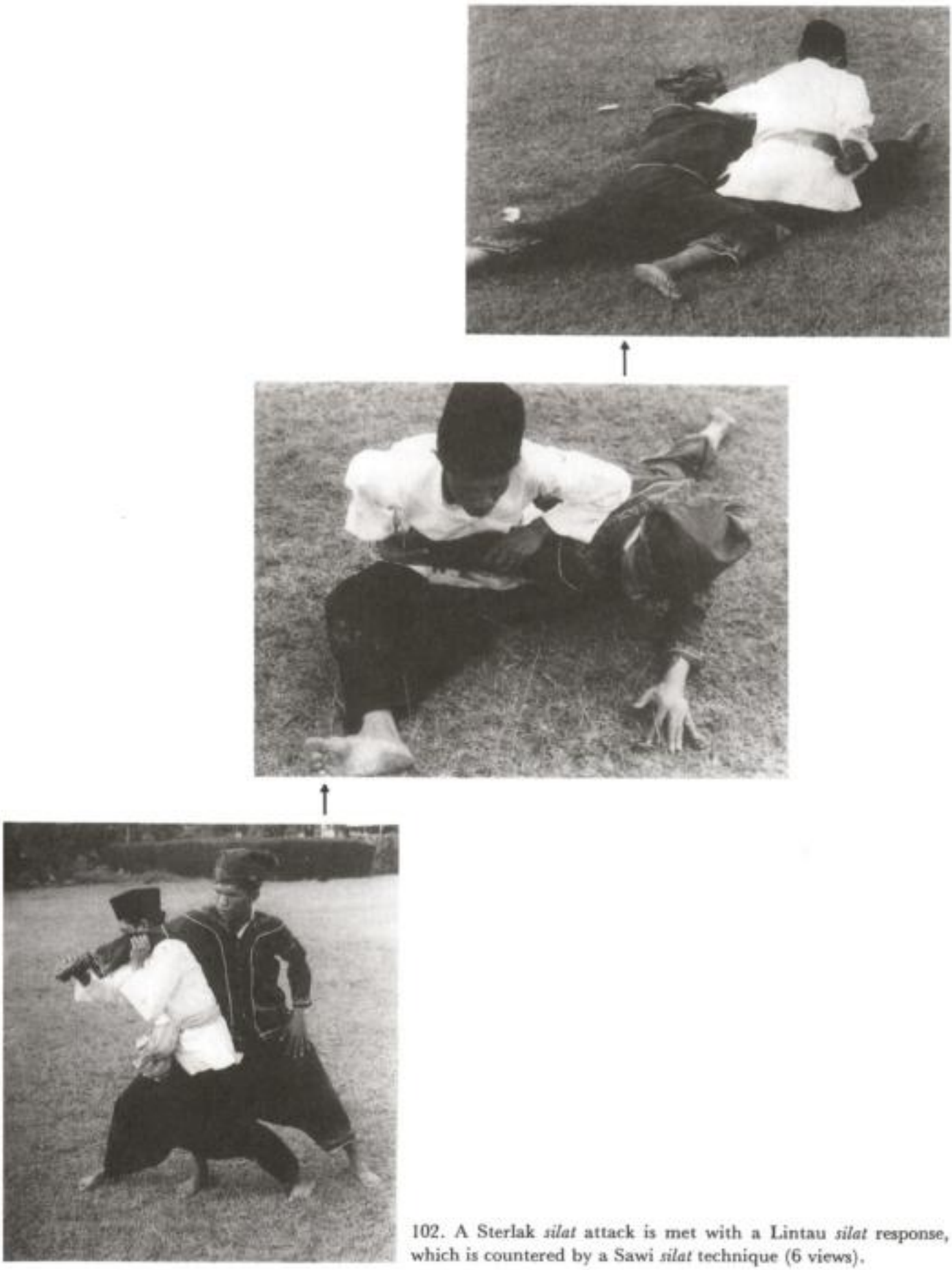
LINTAU *silat* is allied to KUMANGO and is original to the Bukittinggi-Pajakumbuh areas (Fig. 100). A system which specializes in joint-locking techniques is called SAWI *silat* (Fig. 101). It too has its technical roots in KUMANGO and LINTAU. The PUTIMANDI *silat*, or "princess bathing," style of the Bukittinggi region, like the Sawi style, counters both STERLAK and LINTAU styles (Fig. 102). It is particularly well known for the excellence of its staff- (*toya*) fighting skills. Thigh-slapping and foot-stamping actions in this system may suggest Hindu influence. The UNDUKAYAM *silat* system is a most unusual fighting form. The actions of the hen (the meaning of the name of the system) are copied for its mechanical base. Foot actions are used only for displacement and, like the hen, are short and choppy. Hand actions are the strong points of this fighting form. They are used defensively somewhat like the scratching of a hen searching the ground for food. The system comes from the Muaralabuh area.



100. A demonstration of Lintau *silat* (4 views)



101. A demonstration of Sawi *silat* (4 views)



102. A Sterlak *silat* attack is met with a Lintau *silat* response, which is countered by a Sawi *silat* technique (6 views).

The mountainous Pagarujung region near Bukittinggi has developed the PATAI *silat* style. Formed about the turn of the twentieth century by an unknown founder, today the style is headed by a Muslim, Munap Malin Mudo. The emblem of the system is represented on a flag. A caribou (*kabau*) head fills the central portion, underneath which are positioned two crossed *kris*.

The costume for this fighting art consists of a short jacket, trousers, and sash. The trousers are unusual, as they are cut to be quite baggy, with a deep crotch; they permit great freedom of movement. The trousers also serve another purpose: Preparatory to close engagement with the foe, and even sometimes immediately before delivering an actual attack (Fig. 103a), the PATAI exponent slaps together with open palms the baggy portion of the crotch cloth which lies under his thigh. The result is a loud popping sound which is quite startling.

PATAI tactics make judicious use of arm and hand actions to parry the enemy's attacks; generally the open hand is used. It may be directed against an arm or even a kicking attack. The latter is made possible by the fact that the PATAI exponent usually operates from a low crouching posture (b). Clever use of the feet permits them to block attacking arms (c); they can be used with amazing accuracy and rapidity. The PATAI expert cross-steps a lot, turning in this manner to pivot for evasion or counterattack. This action is a bit reminiscent of the KENDARI *silat* style of the Celebes, and perhaps there is some connection.[36] The momentum created by an enemy's hand-parrying action against a PATAI exponent's leg (d) will quickly be utilized to give force to the cross-step turn. PATAI experts are often successful in catching the enemy's arm or arms. They will then "open" the enemy's posture by a hard jerk forward, preliminary to a straight-line kick and hurling the victim to the ground (e, f). Groundwork does exist, but it is not considered a speciality of the system.

Added to the standard weaponry of *pentjak-silat* and the local Menangkabau weapons, which are all utilized by the PATAI system, is the use of their special weapon, the *gontar*. It is a short wooden instrument used to sound the village drum; but as a club (Fig. 104), it is a powerful and dangerous weapon in the hands of an expert.

The Menangkabau skill in *pentjak-silat* is not exclusively the province of men. Women, too, may be found who are highly proficient and fearsome fighters. Often matches between man and woman are staged.

The Muslim-directed organization IPSI (see p. 52) is active in Medan. There under the leadership of Sjech Barinjin, Harum Said, and Rasul, it has progressed along modern lines that remain to be further tested. IPSI in Medan is attempting to conduct a sporting outlet for

36. The Bugis were adventurers who, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, often took part in local wars on the Sumatran coasts. They may be responsible for transplanting this tactic in the Celebes.

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

103. Patai *silat* techniques: (a) the slap, (b) open-hand blocking, (c) blocking with foot, (d) block into cross-step, and (e, f) hurling the opponent to the ground (see following page).

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104. The use of the *gontar* in the Patai *silat* system.

this traditionally only combative art. There is substantial inertia and resistance to the movement within IPSI in Java.

The Medan group has advanced the following suggested rules:

1) attacks must be limited to points between the shoulders and the belt. Contact here is awarded one point.
2) to strike the face or below the belt is a penalty.
3) to throw the opponent is not a completed action; no point award. Ground follow-up is permitted.
4) securing a joint-lock is awarded ten points.
5) securing an immobilization by holding the opponent helpless is worth five points.

Matches are limited to three engagements (rounds) of three minutes each; two-minute rest periods intervene between engagements. Contestants are divided on the basis of classes by age (3-year intervals), weight (5-kg. intervals), and height (10-cm. intervals). The matches must be supervised by master teachers.

■ Atjeh

The Atjeh revere the blade. Their special weapon is the *rentjong* (Fig. 105). Its peculiar shape seems to fit well with the air of magic and mystery connected to it. Each blade has distinct markings, usually Arabic characters which tell of mystic powers. The *rentjong* is employed according to its length, which varies from about five to twenty inches. The shorter lengths are highly favored because they can easily be concealed. The *rentjong* is worn sheathed at the left-hand side of the bearer. It is usually drawn with the left foot forward so that by a quick short step forward with the right foot, the thrust of the knife receives added impetus. The blade is withdrawn from its sheath cutting edge toward the enemy. It is then whipped to the right by a snap of the hand which brings the palm upward; the elbow is held fairly close to the body. The thrust is made by extending the right arm almost to full extension and turning the palm downward just prior to penetration of the target. Vital areas include the abdominal cavity, the groin, the throat, and the kidney regions.

The Atjeh can strike either from rear or side positions, or from frontally positioned and mutually accepted challenge positions. Whatever engagement he elects, he is not strictly limited in tactics to the thrust type. Slashing by circular and elliptical patterns exists.

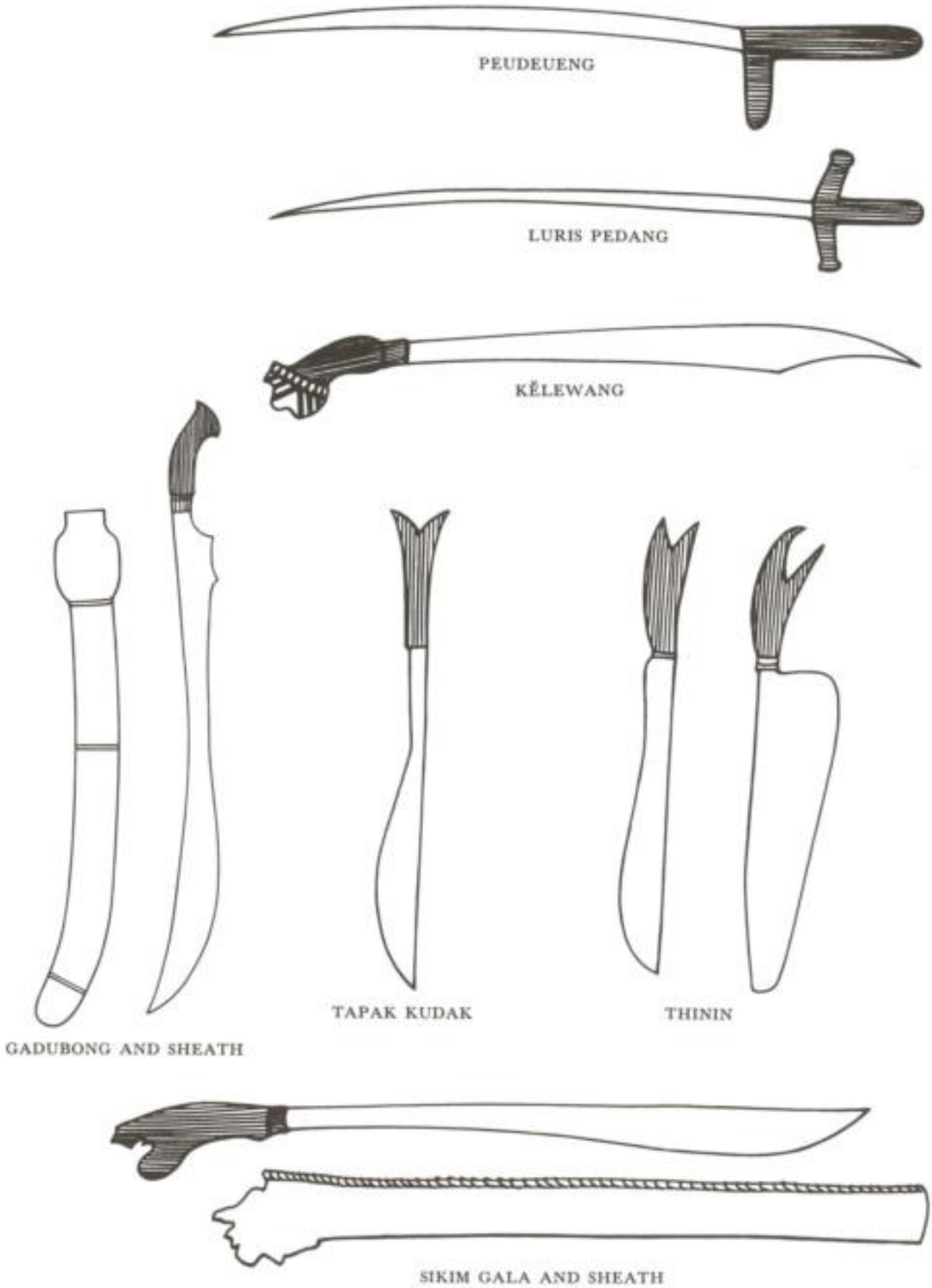
Other Atjeh weapons (Fig. 106) include the somewhat longer *gadubong*, the *peudeueng* and *luris pedang*, which are similar swords designed to be operated by one hand. Blade lengths for these weapons range between fifteen to thirty inches. Swordlike, yet retaining many of the characteristics of the typical Indonesian *parang*, are the *kělewang*, the *tapak*

105. The Atjeh *rentjang* and sheaths.

kudak, the *thinin,* and the *sikim gala.* These long blades, too, are single-edged, averaging about twenty inches in length. Shorter knives, such as the *karis,* the *pisau engkat,* and the *halasan,* exhibit blade lengths from four to nine inches and complete the list of local Atjeh blades. Distinct Moorish design is seen in the *karis* and the *perisai* (shields). Atjeh *kris* may have straight or undulate blades, such as seen in the *kris balengko.* The value of the *kris,* while high, does not replace the *rentjong* as the favorite Atjeh weapon.

Substantially, all Atjeh *pentjak-silat* forms are based on Melayu characteristics, as well as those of the Menangkabau. The use of arm seizures —catching—points out the former influence. By employment of *depok* and *sempok,* Atjeh *pentjak-silat* show their dependence upon Menangkabau forms. The Atjeh have actually managed a synthesis which typifies their aggressively active personality. Whereas the *silat* Melayu fighter will drop into *depok* or *sempok* to evade an attack, then deliver a kick from the ground, and the Menangkabau will do similarly or stand up to deliver his kick and then drop back down into the ground-sitting posture, the Atjeh comes out of the ground-sitting posture, kicks, and stays on his feet.

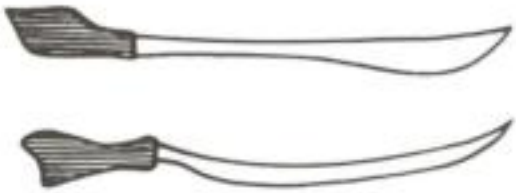
Atjeh *pentjak-silat* is locally administered from Kuta-raja, the principal city, where it is under the wing of IPSI, the Muslim-directed organ. It is in liaison with the Medan branch, located just at the southeastern boundary of Atjeh country and the northernmost Batak region.



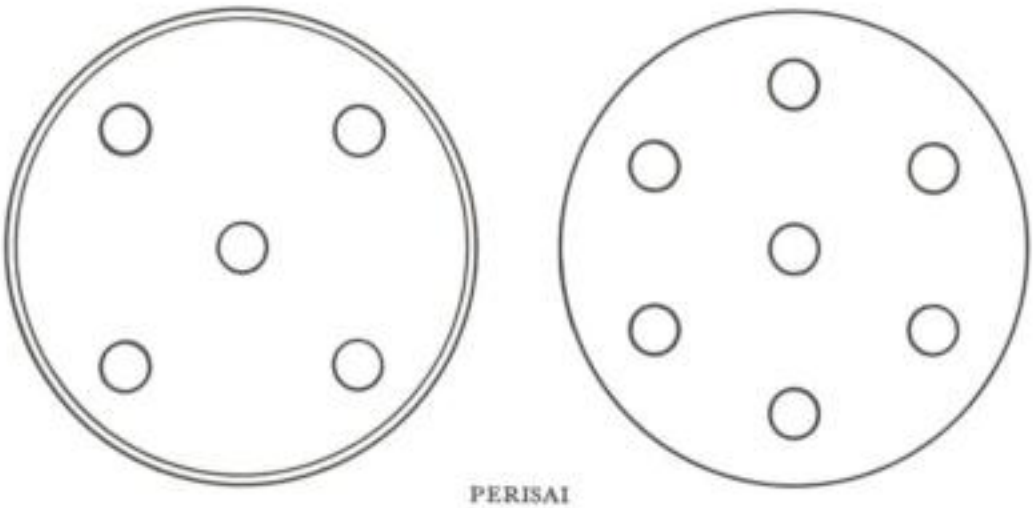
106. Additional Atjeh weapons (see also following page)

KARIS

PISAU ENGKAT



HALASAN



PERISAI

STRAIGHT-BLADED KRIS

KRIS BALENGKO

■ Riouw Archipelago

The Riouw Archipelago has been pointed out as an immensely significant area to the development of Indonesian fighting arts. It merely suffices to say here that *silat* Melayu originated there and that its influences have permeated almost the whole of Indonesian *pentjak-silat*. Technical ideas transferred to the Palembang-based Srivijaya Empire may be witnessed today in local Palembang area *pentjak-silat* forms. In the BESSI *silat* the hand-and-arm catch or seizure tactics can be identified with *silat* Melayu. Such catches against the arm of the enemy are made well above the wrist. The staff (*toya*) technique in the Badolingau area near Palembang is one of the best in Indonesia. It employs a seven-foot wooden staff and depends on manipulation with very little sliding of the hands, a strong characteristic of *silat* Melayu. Postures (*stan*) for combat use the typically *silat* Melayu wide-footing placement so useful in wet or muddy areas. Additionally, the lead foot is always turned slightly inward to avoid exposing the knee joint to a direct frontal kicking attack. Spear tactics stemming from Riouw characteristically begin with the spearhead pointing downward.

■ Batak

The Batak possesses a low-threshold spirit for war. He is almost instantly precipitated into combative action by the smallest provocation. Marsden (*History of Sumatra*) reports that "Their life appears, in fact, to be a perpetual state of hostility, and they are always prepared for attack and defense."

The Batak fortify their *kampong* with ramparts of piled and packed earth, liberally planted with brushwood. Outside of this structure is a ditch, on each side of which is growing a palisade of timber. Beyond that is still another ring of prickly bamboo, the puncture wounds from which take extended periods to heal, an impenetrable vegetation that hides the actual settlement. *Ranjau,* the bamboo sticks sharpened on both ends, are copiously planted all over the outer areas; both body *ranjau* (Fig. 107) and foot *ranjau* are used, making even a stealthy approach very dangerous except to those who know the pattern. At the corners of their fortified settlement watchtowers guard the inhabitants twenty-four hours a day; these are usually tall trees in which scouts are posted to keep keen scrutiny over the outer approaches. If attacked, the Batak can launch devastating fire by musket, blowpipe, arrows, and spears from these watchtowers.

But the Batak prefers not to fight defensively, especially around or from his own *kampong*. He will erect fortified areas removed from his village, using these as bases from which to launch a campaign against his enemy.

Batak weapons include spears made of bamboo with fire-hardened

107. A Batak body *ranjau*.

108. The Batak *jono*.

109. The Batak *kapak*.

points or hardwood shafts with metal spearheads. A side weapon called a *jono* (Fig. 108) is carried religiously. Use of the bow and arrow is first recorded in Chinese records (*Ying-yai Sheng-lan*) and it may be, together with the spear, their most ancient weapon. The small throwing hatchet called the *kapak* (sometimes *kapa*) (Fig. 109) is a metal instrument and a favorite among the Batak. Carried inconspicuously in back, high up on their back-neck regions or inside the forearm hidden by sleeves, this hatchet can be instantly gripped and thrown with remarkable accuracy. The Batak skill with this terrifying weapon rivals that of any other people with projectile weapons of a like nature. A Batak can pin an enemy's foot to the ground at a distance of fifteen feet or if he chooses, pin him to a tree or wall through his arm or hand. *Sumpit* (*sumpitan*), as the blowpipes are known, [37] are also used in warfare, but more generally for hunting. Some use of the *chemeti*, or "whip," is reported. *Ranjau* are carried and used not only in their primary manner but also as hand weapons. (The connection between this custom and the Philippine *tabak* as well as that of the Haruku Island [Moluccas] sharpened sticks is not clear.)

37. Special lengths of bamboo with joints five feet apart are preferred for the tubular portion of this weapon.

Batak warriors train daily for combat. Their *kampong* makes use of a special building called a *balei,* which includes an area for fighting-art practice at one end; however, much of their training takes place outside on natural terrain. Marsden in his *History of Sumatra* reported that " . . . nor do they ever engage hand-to-hand," but the Batak can and do, though perhaps not from preference. Though there is no grappling or boxing form indigenous to Batak culture, among their martial forms is a method of combat which may have a Hindu base.[38] Knife in the right hand, two combatants are encased in one *sarong.* Both fighters are usually mortally wounded and the winner is the one who dies last. Additionally, though it is not popularly practiced today, Batak warriors may employ the methods of MENANGKABAU *silat,* since they are a mountain people having extremely strong legs, an asset in the MENANGKABAU *silat* system.

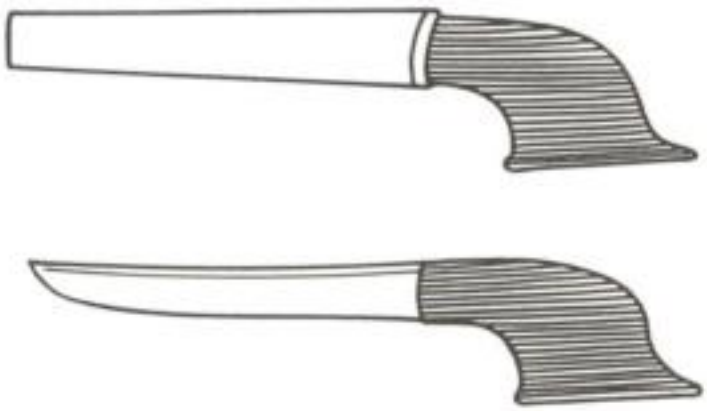
Raiding parties of old were more of a defensive or counteractive nature. The enemy *kampong* was besieged and defied by firing musket balls into it by a process known as "carrying smoke to the enemy." The enemy was then allowed three days during which to confer about terms being demanded. If the terms were refused or no reply was made at the end of three days, the Batak attacked furiously after declaring war. But before entering actual combat they killed a buffalo or fowl (white was the preferred color), and by observing the spasmatic motion of the intestines as life oozed out of the animal, they judged the fortune of the battle yet to come. The priest who oversaw this event was rewarded with death if he misjudged the reading of the intestinal movement.

Wars lasted for years, but seldom was an open engagement employed. The mutual loss of a dozen men could stop all proceedings. Even a market-time season could see all hostilities brought to a halt, and Batak attending such commercial events plugged the muzzles of their firearms with a piece of green bough to signify peaceful intentions.

Once in battle, the Batak fought furiously. Their standard was a horse's tail or head with a long mane; colored streamers of red and white decorated the standard. They marched in single file and beat gongs and made loud shouting noises as they approached for deployment. The siege was made out of musket-fire range, and they relied more upon sniping action and ambush of enemy stragglers to force their demands. If overwhelmed in the siege, they retreated, but not before sowing *ranjau* to cover their movement back to their *kampong.* Sieges saw them subsisting on very little food, sometimes only one potato a day.

While they design and manufacture their own swords, they curiously are dependent upon the Menangkabau for firearms. They are expert marksmen, even though many of the firearms are matchlock guns.

38. Ancient Hindu fighting arts included a method by which two warriors were tied, left hands together; knives held in their right hands were used in stabbing and slashing actions to establish victory.



110. The Batak *raut* and sheath.

Batak warriors make their own ammunition for these guns. Gunpowder is compounded from the manure composts near the *kampong*. They carry machines, curiously carved, for molding bullets and still others for dispensing powder. In battle, they carry cartridge boxes, made with a number of compartments, each containing an individual charge; the matches are also carried within the boxes; hanging from their right side are the flint and steel. More modern firearms are not generally preferred, for the problem of finding ammunition for these newer pieces is almost insolvable.

The Batak knife-fighter has his own peculiar style. His special weapon is the *raut* (Fig. 110), a short-bladed knife with a pistol grip not unlike the Bugis *badik*. When provoked the Batak will bare his right arm should it be encumbered with garments; if unclad, he will symbolically make this gesture as a signal, after which he will attack. He employs his bladed weapon in the following manner: When positioned within effective striking distance with his unsheathed knife, he will loosely hold the handle in what sometimes approximates a pinch grip. To strike into the target, usually his enemy's midsection, he uses the blade in a hacking fashion (downward or upward) and as it bites deeply into flesh, he completely relaxes his handhold and thrusts the blade even deeper by a quick motion of his palm on the end of the handle. The knife, driven by such an impetus, penetrates to a lethal depth making further strikes unnecessary. Beyond this peculiarity, Batak knife-fighting tactics exhibit no special characteristics.

■ The Celates

The Celates were the indigenes of the straits between Malaya and Sumatra. They infiltrated the Riouw and Lingga archipelagos, as well as Batam Island. As a nomadic group who specialized in piracy, the Celates were masters of guerrilla warfare, as carried out on the high

seas. They are known to have employed almost all the standard weapons, such as the *saligi*, or "spear,"[39] made of *nibong* wood, the bow and arrow, the *kris*, the *parang*, and even the stick or club. Some accounts speak of the "meager arsenal" employed by the Celates, mainly composed of spears and guns and cannon of native manufacture.[40] But by this "meager arsenal," the Celates proved the then already time-tested adage that it is the man behind the weapon or system that is most important in combat.

The blowpipe perhaps made the Celates the most feared pirates in Indonesian waters. Using this weapon, they carried out their earliest raids; in more modern times, the blowpipe seems to have fallen into disuse. The Celates always used poison darts in their blowpipes.

Godinho d'Eredia reporting in 1613 wrote of the "Saletes," that "These fishermen employed pointed darts called *soligues* [Portuguese word for the Malay *saligi*] with which they transfixed the fish swimming at the bottom of the sea. . . ."[41] Here d'Eredia has confused the spear with the missiles of the blowpipe, for there has never been a blowpipe missile that could be used efficiently for killing fish "at the bottom of the sea," but he no doubt observed the blowpipe as a weapon of the Celates.

The use of the blowpipe and its poisonous missiles is recorded by Barros (*Da Asia*) (1511) in the battle for Malacca. He notes that some of the Portuguese defenders fell wounded, some fatally, to the effect of this insidious weapon:

> The Malays say that the invention of this poison was made by the inhabitants of Sumatra and is compounded with the bone of a fish which in this kingdom we call *bagre*, and the Malays charged with this manufacture were the Cellates folk who live on the sea.

It must be noted that Barros does not insist that the Celates used the blowpipe against the Portuguese, but only that they supplied the *ipoh*, or "poison." David Sopher in his *Sea Nomads* infers that the substance may have been produced from *Antiaris toxicaria*, a process well known to the forest peoples of the Malay Peninsula. Perhaps, according to Sopher, the Celates obtained the knowledge of poison from their mixing with peninsular natives, or may have even gotten the idea of the blowpipe from this source.

Tomè Pires in his *Suma Oriental* calls the Celates those

39. A Malay word for the bamboo or other wooden spear consisting of a shaft sharpened to a point. No metal spearhead is used on this weapon.

40. "Piracy and Slave Trade, etc." (*Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, 1849–51)

41. "Eredia's Description of Malaca, Meridional India and Cathay" (translated from Portuguese and annotated by J. V. Mills, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 8 [April 1930]).

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> . . . who are corsairs in small, light craft, men who go out pillaging in their boats, and fish, and are sometimes on land and sometimes on sea, of whom there are a large number now in our time. (They carry blowpipes with small arrows of black hellebore, which, as they touch blood, kill, as they often did to our Portuguese in the enterprise and destruction of the famous city of Malacca, which is very famous among the nations.)

Be all as it may, the blowpipe was positively a weapon of the Celates. The poison used on its missiles was made from the fish known as the *ikan pari*, the stingray (eagle ray) common to waters of the straits. The caudal spine of this ray has served as a spearhead for forest peoples on the Malay Peninsula, but also was ground and mixed with the *Antiaris toxicaria* to become an *ipoh* for poison arrows and blowpipe missiles. As fishermen of great skill, Sopher suggests that the Celates were responsible for obtaining the spines of rays, a most dangerous occupation.

■ Mentawai Islands and Nias

Paralleling the western coast of Sumatra lies a chain of islands from Engano, the southernmost, to Pulo Babi, the northernmost. These islands support various tribes, not necessarily friendly toward one another. Occasional warfare between the more aggressive tribes from the southern islands and the more docile northern islanders takes place, even today.

Engano natives are hostile to all who encroach upon their society. Seven-foot spears are their favorite weapon (Fig. 111). Made of *nibong* wood, these weapons are tipped with sharp bamboo points, fire hardened, and their concave sides are filled with imbedded shark's teeth or fish bones which have been pointed. Some use is made of iron and copper for spearheads. The Engano natives lurk behind coral reefs in war canoes ready to pounce upon stragglers who venture too close.

On the southernmost island of the Pulo Pagi group lives a group of restless people who occasionally make war with their island neighbors to the north. Their arms consist chiefly of hardwood spears and bow and arrows. The bow is fashioned from *nibong* wood and is usually less than four feet in length; arrows are made from proportionately shorter lengths of straight bamboo, tipped with brass points, but more often with hardwood shaped to a point. The bowstring is made from the entrails of animals. These people sometimes carry a *kris* of typical Sumatran design. Their war canoes are huge affairs, sixty or seventy feet long. Some of the natives carry the *parang* (Fig. 112), the chopper knife so common throughout Indonesia.

But it is on Nias Island, the largest of the chain, that weapons and fighting arts are most highly developed. The island, some one hundred and fifty miles long and sixty miles wide, is remote and houses this

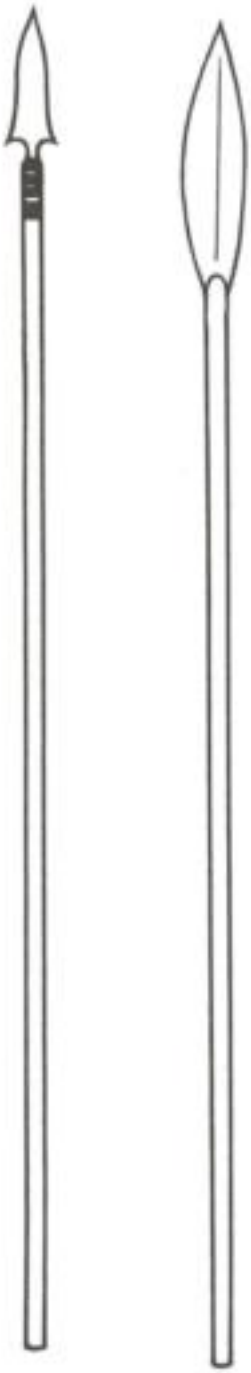
111. Engano seven-foot spears.

112. The Pulo Pagi *parang*.

primitive culture. The people are immediately connected with original racial stock from the interior of Sumatra. Their religion is a mixture of animism, ancestor worship, and phallicism.

Slain enemy heads adorn the huts of the chiefs. The island is divided into about fifty districts, each with a *raja* ruling with arbitrary authority. The districts are more or less independent from one another and at times exhibit variances which lead to combative showdowns. The object of all the wars appears to be the taking of prisoners, who are sold as slaves for a great profit. Such activities have been encouraged over the years by the traders, such as those from Atjeh. David Sopher reports in his *Sea Nomads:*

> On Simeulüe and Siberut, and particularly Nias, off the west coast of Sumatra, slaveraiding by Achinese seamen was common in the 1830's and visits from far-ranging pirates from Borneo and the Sulu area were no doubt known and dreaded; the places where they put in along the coast would be recognized and avoided, being referred to thereafter by such names as Labuan Bajau, 'Pirates Landing' [on Simeulüe and Siberut], and Sibajau, "Pirate Place" [an islet near Siberut].



113. Nias island spears.

114. The Nias island *parang*.

115. A Nias island warrior before combat.

116. The Nias warriors' *tulo-tulo* war dance.

Nias warriors are sturdy men, and their fitness is manifested in many ways aside from combative encounter. Prior to marriage, for instance, they must face a severe test of strength. A solid stone column approximately seven feet high and two feet wide is the index of their physical fitness. Nearby, a smaller stone about twenty inches high rests solidly implanted in the soil. The warrior to be tested runs some twenty-five yards, hops upon the small stone and from there without breaking his momentum launches himself into the air to hurtle over the column. To do so requires extremely acrobatic gyrations, for the only safe landing is on one's feet, facing the column. Those who miss risk severe injury or even death.

Characteristic of the Nias warrior is the *alat-alat pakgian pradjurit*, or "warrior's costume." Leather "armor" jackets of various styles are donned by the warrior. The (*tombuk*) spear is their chief weapon. A seven-foot length appears to be most popular. Points are either of metal or hardwood shaped in straight-blade fashion (Fig. 113). The point of the spear is held pointing downward just before combat (Fig. 115). The *kĕlewang* is a sword which has been perhaps modeled after European (captured?) models, such as used by the early European traders. They are more saberlike than the usual Indonesian types. The *parang* (Fig. 114) is also carried and used. The Nias warrior makes extensive use of the hand shield, a simply decorated and elongated design which can also be used as a battering ram at close quarters.

To promote martial ardor the Nias warrior engages in the *tulo-tulo*, a war dance composed of much circular dancing and shouting (Fig 116). The affair may last long enough to ensure that each warrior is ready for combat, but more often than not it is a symbolic gesture done quickly as if all were impatient to get into battle.

■ Kuntao

Sumatra has long been economically affluent in Indonesian history. With a rich source of excellent raw materials and blessed with first-class port facilities, Sumatra has always been a merchant's paradise. The Chinese have occupied the coastal cities, as well as some interior posts, and they have brought, along with their other traditions, *kuntao*. Kuta-raja in the north, Medan in the northeast, Jambi and Palembang in the east-central, and Padang in the west-central portions of the island, all have large Chinese communities in which *kuntao* flourishes.

The popularity of southern Chinese fighting arts (Hokkien and Khe) predominates. Sho Bun Seng of Padang is an oldster with a full knowledge of Sumatran *pentjak-silat* and *kuntao* history. He decries the modern methods of *kuntao* which he says are not well organized. *Kuntao* tradition has it that the master teacher will always teach less than he knows to protect his superior status. Since only the most dedicated and proficient students would be capable of deducing the untaught portion, in time

kuntao systems narrow and stagnate. Only by the application of each succeeding master's additions to the original system can the art perpetuate. The master teacher must make elaborations so that the technical progress of the system may be positive. "But today the tradition is killing the art," says Sho, "for young students are not so serious in their study and do not progress well enough to ensure that one day one of them will succeed as master of the style."

The modern-day emphasis of young trainees centers on the empty-hand (Fig. 117) phase of *kuntao*. Only very few can expertly manipulate the single- and double-edged swords, the staff, the spear, and other weapons peculiar to *kuntao*.

117. Two views of empty-hand *kuntao* training in Padang, Sumatra.

Chapter 4

BALI

Everyone with one of his hands
wrought in the work,
and with the other hand
held a weapon.

—NEHEMIAH 4:17

■ Pentjak-silat

The term *pentjak-silat* came into use on Bali only after 1930. Prior to this time there was no specific name for combatives now subsumed under that name. Many styles of such combatives can be identified, some of which are intrinsic to Bali, others positively transferred from Sumatra and Java under continental Asian influence.

In western Bali the JODUK style is found in the Negara city area. It is a secret tradition and all training is done under the utmost secrecy to keep it that way. JODUK, a Muslim-directed combative, is not mechanically different from other Muslim forms on Java, but employs mystic trancelike states to make its combatants fanatic fighters. The style is little known and never seen in any other parts of Indonesia.

Precombat, all aspiring participants inflict wounds upon their own chest and abdomen, usually using the *kris* in stabbing and slashing fashion. The combatants thus develop a high threshold against pain which is to come in the actual fight. Music, percussion type, with a spirited rhythm sets the stage for all preliminary rituals. Some form of autosuggestion or self-hypnosis is probably the method by which the trances and frenzied condition of the combatants are achieved. The self-inflicted *kris* lacerations made during the precombat period are highly valued (Fig. 118).

Examination of the combatants during the precombat trances showed that only their forearms were tense or rigid; above the elbows they were relaxed. The precombat state was one of calm, but as the fight neared, the calmness was shattered and a near hysteria developed. Shouting and screaming accompanied the combats. Incense was burned during the entire weird affair.

118. The Balinese *kris* dance: a precombat ritual in which wounds are self-inflicted (4 views).

Joseph Kadjang Amerta of Denpasar is an authority on Balinese culture and its combative forms. It is his qualified opinion that the precombat ritual, the trances, are in themselves the only distinguishing feature of this strange form of *pentjak-silat*.

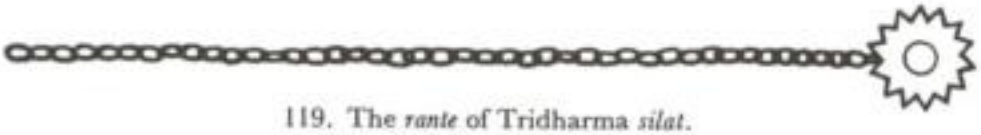
TRIDHARMA, BHAKTI NEGARA, and ESSTI are considered "pure" Balinese styles of *pentjak-silat*.[1] These forms and that of the PERISAI DIRI (PRISAI DIRI), an East Java transplant form, make up the dominant styles on this lush tropical island; the latter style is not considered a pure Balinese *pentjak-silat* form.

TRIDHARMA, BHAKTI NEGARA, and ESSTI appear to be highly deceptive systems. They rely upon distractions produced by hand movements, and operate from low-crouching postures which may make them less economical energywise than the more upright *pentjak-silat* systems, such as PERISAI DIRI. Exponents of these three Balinese styles are generally slight of build, wiry, and extremely flexible. Actions are all induced and performed by the rhythm of drum-percussion music (*gulgul*), but such music is not indispensable to the practice and effect. TRIDHARMA, BHAKTI NEGARA, and ESSTI styles are all highly reactive; that is, the enemy, under response to some preparatory demonstrative distraction, is led into a follow-up attack. The three systems appear to lack aggressive action and are less direct than the PERISAI DIRI style. Men and women practice in traditional black costumes; some use headbands much as did Japanese warriors.

TRIDHARMA is found in the northern Balinese areas. The word (pronounced "tree-darma") means "three-honesty/peaceful." It is a balanced system enhanced by both the traditional weapons of *pentjak-silat* and empty-hand tactics. Both high and low postures are employed. Movements make full use of the hands in large circular patterns. The *sempok* and *depok* ground-sitting postures are suggestive of Sumatran influence as are the leg-sickle actions made from the ground designed to sweep an upright attacking enemy's advancing foot. Leaping and standing kicks are primarily of the straight-line delivery type, but can be made frontally and to the rear in a thrusting manner too; some use of the snap-kick and whirling-pivot kick is seen. No "round-house" kicks (Japanese *mawashi-geri*) are practiced. All training and combat is performed on natural terrain, sometimes hard unyielding surfaces. Witnessed throws and falls took place on terrain which would put an untrained man into the hospital after the impact.

The special weapon of TRIDHARMA is the *rante* (chain). At one end of the chain is affixed a saw-toothed gearlike metal weight (Fig. 119). This weapon is whirled at different lengths while held in one hand. By

1. This purity is arbitrarily assigned. The three *pentjak-silat* forms stem from a common root out of West Java and have little distinction to identify things peculiar to each. While developed on Bali, these three forms are considered "pure" in that they are the products of Balinese endeavor, while the other combative systems on Bali were transplanted from other areas.



119. The *rante* of Tridharma *silat*.

changing hands, the length of the swing may be altered up to its maximum length of approximately one yard.

BHAKTI NEGARA (sometimes BAKTI NEGARA) was founded in 1955 by Ida Bagus Oka Dinwangkara. It is localized in southern Balinese areas. The name implies "sacrifice/exclusive dedication/state." What has been already discussed for the TRIDHARMA style applies equally to BHAKTI NEGARA, but there are some additional interesting characteristics that make this *pentjak-silat* form an outstanding one.

Its founder admits that his system is a synthesis of older *pentjak-silat* ideas out of Java, combined, however, with modern foreign influences, such as Japanese *jūjutsu, aikidō,* and *karate-dō,* as well as Western boxing tactics. Some Kodokan judo techniques are being studied but are not yet completed as standardized for adoptation: *ippon seoi-nage, osoto (-gari, -gake, -otoshi, -guruma), ko-uchi (-gari, -gake), tomoe-nage,* and *sukui-nage* are popular (Fig. 120).[2]

In its general operation BHAKTI NEGARA *pentjak-silat* is highly deceptive to the enemy. This feature is best described by the Chinese word *hua,* or "flowers," implying "decorative deception." Some Chinese fighting forms are evidenced in part in BHAKTI NEGARA. The striking actions which employ the "standing fist" (fist not screwed into target on delivery) and the heel-thrust kick are cases in point. Stances and movements are a mixture of the Menangkabau *sempok* and *depok* ground-sitting postures, the low-crouching postures of West Javan TJI forms, and some Chinese *kuntao* positional attitudes. *Sempok* or *depok* (Fig. 121) are employed only when the distance or interval between the operator and the enemy is over two yards. At closer ranges the BHAKTI NEGARA exponent prefers to be on his feet.

BHAKTI NEGARA's highly evasive character is seen not only in the physical-technical plane but the very mood, personality, and manner of each exponent also reflects distraction. Exponents appear to be shy, timid, almost harmless in a combative sense, literally unable to defend themselves. Under attack, however, the exponent comes to life (Fig. 122) with a series of precise responses to any attack situation. The whole underlying key philosophy of BHAKTI NEGARA is defensive, but it is not by any means entirely so; the use of counterattacks after the successful defensive response has also been applied.

2. Introduced, demonstrated, and taught to BHAKTI NEGARA officials by the author in 1967.

120. Bhakti Negara throwing technique: form (*far left*) and application (*left*).

121. Alertness in Bhakti Negara *silat* "sitting" posture.

122. Bhakti Negara *silat* techniques: apparently off guard in salutory position (*above*); responding to attack (*right*).

123. A Bhakti Negara *silat* ruse: exhibiting "weakness" (*left*) leads to blind attack by enemy and strong counter-attack (*below*).

Psychologically speaking, the exponent of this *pentjak-silat* form tries to torment his enemy to make him lose mental poise. This device, plus deliberate deceptions in a physical sense—appearing to be in a weak posture or lacking alertness—is the method of BHAKTI NEGARA. Such a ruse is called a "weak counterpart position" and is based on deceptive stances and movements. This "weakness" is always demonstrated openly and deliberately about two yards from the enemy. It is all decoy, a lure to bring the enemy into a blind attack with his mind set on how easy the BHAKTI NEGARA exponent looks. By such misjudgment of the "weak counterpart position" the attacker leaves holes in his defense and is subject to prompt and efficient counterattack. This decoy or ruse is termed *tipuan,* implying "imitation substituted" (Fig. 123).

Deceptive movements, however, cost energy, and the price the BHAKTI NEGARA exponent pays for his ruses is often conditioned by his physical stamina. He is taught to offer ruses only under careful consideration, weighing the chances of success against the method of leading the enemy to destruction.

The area of concentration on the enemy's body against which the exponent of BHAKTI NEGARA directs his attacks differs from that of PERISAI DIRI or ESSTI (both of which are midsection inverted-triangle target areas). In BHAKTI NEGARA the enemy's body is seen as a rectangular section and all concentration is placed on a line with his shoulders (Fig. 124). Thrusting, striking, blocking, parrying, covering, distracting

124. Center of gaze and area of concentration of attack in Bhakti Negara *silat*.

125. The "floating foot" of Bhakti Negara *silat*.

with the hands and arms, follow a fuller movement than that which predominates in PERISAI DIRI tactics. But some use of half-movements of the arms is applied in close infighting situations; short, choppy punching actions may be delivered. By and large the delivery of the full arm, fist "screwed in" to the target punch, is favored over the more Chinese manner (standing fist). Almost all blocking and parrying actions are made with the open hands. If the arm or wrist of a BHAKTI NEGATA exponent is caught by the enemy, that seizure is sure to be struck loose by a slap from the BHAKTI NEGATA exponent's free hand.

Kicking is basically like other *pentjak-silat* forms. Experts of the BHAKTI NEGARA style, such as A. Alit, are highly skilled with frontal kicking and usually position themselves with a "floating" frontal foot to prepare for such tactics (Fig. 125). BHAKTI NEGARA tactics also pay much attention to attacking the advancing foot of the enemy. Kicks may be directed against that leg which may also be reaped, swept, or hooked to throw the enemy off-balance. An enemy closing on the BHAKTI NEGARA expert may suddenly find him abandoning his upright posture into *sempok* or *depok*, there to act against the enemy's advancing leg.

Some use of grappling infighting is employed, with joint-locks (Japanese *kansetsu waza*) favored;[3] these methods are not yet highly developed. Joints to be attacked as primary targets are the shoulder and elbow; no consideration is given to the fingers or wrists. Some attacks against the enemy's legs involve the knee caught in a scissoring action to produce painful injury.

3. See preceding note.

The standard weapons of *pentjak-silat* are all used in the BHAKTI NEGARA style. Determining just what is the favorite or central weapon of this system is a difficult matter, for exponents are highly skilled with the staff (*toya*), the forked iron truncheon (*tjabang*), and the short knife (*pisau*). The staff technique (Fig. 126) exhibits *silat* Melayu qualities in that a minimal use of hand sliding on the shaft is used in the course of manipulation. *Tjabang* technique is excellent and depends on a somewhat differently dimensioned instrument. Its tine shoulders are squarer than on most types, permitting a full hand to enter between tine and shaft (Fig. 127). This accommodation permits a wide range of reversal, and other actions not possible by the usual design of *tjabang*. The excellent use of the *pisau* too is different from what most other *pentjak-silat* styles register as standard technique (Fig. 128). The soft-grip handling of the short-bladed knife, with its instantly fast reversals, hand exchanges, and other clever ruses designed to confuse the potential victim perhaps stem from the *tjabang* skill.

The local weapon, the Balinese *kris* (see p. 182), appears to be so revered that its use in *pentjak* training is hardly seen. Naturally the skills of BHAKTI NEGARA experts include the *kris,* but it may only be used in an emergency in *silat*.

The special weapons of BHAKTI NEGARA are worthy of mention (Fig. 130). The *tombak jago,* a spear-type weapon, has an overall length of about ten feet, the shaft being about two inches in diameter and made from hardwood. It is commonly held with the point downward, a characteristic which also identifies the fact that its tactics stem from *silat* Melayu. This weapon is employed in thrust and slash actions. Its design dates from antiquity and because of its great length, which makes handling tiresome, few exponents study its methods. It may be seen chiefly in the rituals connected with cremation at which BHAKTI NEGARA *pentjak-silat* is performed. The *toyak* is a halberd-like weapon much like the *arbir* of PERISAI DIRI (see p. 72). Its special usage involves slashing attacks. A special weapon simply called *pedang,* for want of a proper name, is not a Balinese weapon, but may be a mixture of the *pedang* and Japanese *katana* (single-edged, two-handed sword) designs. It is used in *pentjak* movement, held by one hand, and is an extremely fast weapon. (Fig. 129). The *pentjong,* a short, hardwood stick or club, is still another special weapon of BHAKTI NEGARA (Fig. 130).

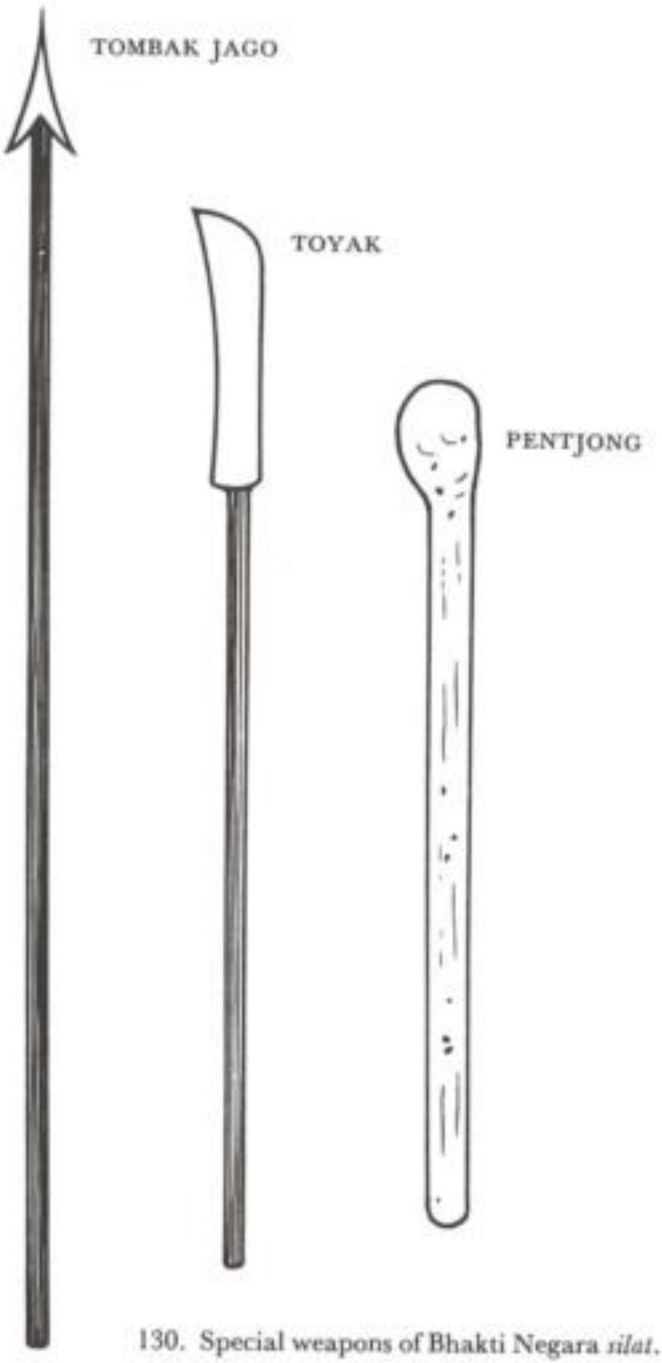
BHAKTI NEGARA was the second *pentjak-silat* organization formed on Bali and places its tradition proudly forward as exemplary of what good *pentjak-silat* should be. There is a tremendous emphasis on moral conduct, and the use of *silat* technique is justified only in the serious defense of one's life or that of others. The founder of this system, the absolute leader, controls the standards of conduct. Discipline is high and it is related by a traditional story how one student (an expert) became involved in a fight of a challenge nature, without first seeking the permission of the master and founder. This breach of the underlying ethical

126. The *toya* as used in Bhakti Negara *silat*.

127. The *tjabang* as used in Bhakti Negara *silat*.

128. The *pisau* as used in Bhakti Negara *silat*.

129. The use of the *pedang* in Bhakti Negara *silat*.



130. Special weapons of Bhakti Negara *silat*.

concept of BHAKTI NEGARA, even though he emerged from combat victorious, was enough to bring the wrath of the founder down upon him. He was hunted down by several students sent by the founder to locate and impress upon him the fact that he had broken an honored tradition. The group of students finally located the breaker of their proud tradition and repeatedly threw him into a pond until he was exhausted and almost drowned. He was then officially expelled from BHAKTI NEGARA to emphasize clearly that no fighting is tolerated by the founder unless first given his sanction. Unavoidable self-defense situations are exempt from this sanction, but even then the exponent involved must be prepared to justify the methods he employs in victory, or defeat; it is better not to overdo the responses.

On Bali, the BHAKTI NEGARA system is popularly referred to as *pentjak* Bali (sometimes even *kuntao* Bali). It has 150 branch schools (*renting*) and about twenty thousand individual members. It has not yet been expanded on an international basis. Skill in this style of *pentjak-silat* is indicated by colored belts. In the order of decreasing seniority those colors are violet, yellow, brown, blue, and red. Each has two classes. Only two violet belts, both belonging to master teachers, exist for this system. Since the costume for BHAKTI NEGARA is black, these belt colors contrast vividly and produce a pleasing effect.

Championships determined by a sportive phase of BHAKTI NEGARA are not the prime purpose of the system. But because some need was felt to identify the active exponents in terms of competitive skill, a sporting outlet was created. Combatants engage in empty-hand tactics, and points are scored along specific lines which permit a high degree of action without unnecessary chance of injury. These bouts are held every three years and are always tied in with some official Balinese ceremony. The last championship bouts proved to be popular with the spectator audience and perhaps will cause BHAKTI NEGARA officials to consider annual events.

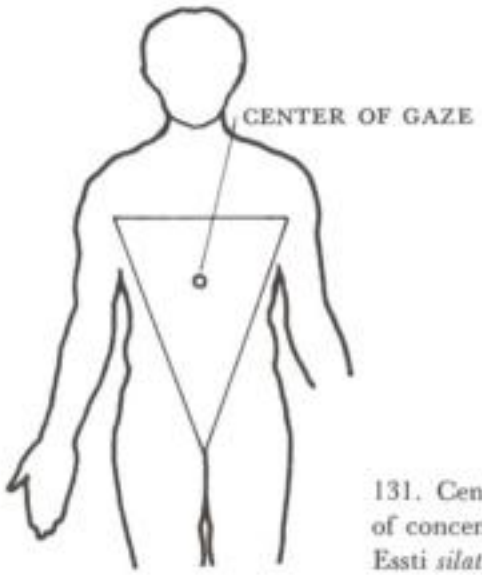
EKA SENTOSA SETITI (known simply as ESSTI) is a *pentjak-silat* form founded on Bali by I. Made Regog, alias Pak Gunung. It was the first organization on Bali for *pentjak-silat,* developed in 1937 out of the underground movement against the Dutch. Its methods were finalized by 1950. While claiming, too, to be pure Balinese style, its methods stem from southern Chinese *kuntao* roots, specifically Shaolin. It is a balanced system of the use of hands and feet and device weapons. Centering on Denpasar in southern Bali, its spread to other Balinese areas is limited.

EKA implies "one." SENTOSA means "content" or "secure," while SETITI translates as "accurate." ESSTI is an independent movement with no claimed current political overtones, but cooperates and exchanges its students with TRIDHARMA. Both PERISAI DIRI and BHAKTI NEGARA indulge to some extent in political action and are wooing the ministry of education for status.

The technical basis of ESSTI is approximately the Shaolin five principles: concentration of the eyes, economy of movement, footwork, striking force, and posture. These factors in ESSTI are known as:

kailat—open area intrusion or closing on the target
kaisin—to open and close the heart
pentjak—the art of rhythmic movement occasioned for self-defense
kilat—speed
silat—skill for fighting

The economic stance of the ESSTI exponent is determined by the length of the operator's arm (from shoulder to fingertip). Experts shorten this measurement distance while beginners always exceed it. Stance is of the



131. Center of gaze and area of concentration of attack in Essti *silat*.

triangular type (*kuntao ting* stance; Japanese *aikidō* stance). The operator concentrates his forces (mental and physical) on his enemy's chest in an area which may be described as an inverted triangle with its apex at the groin (see PERISAI DIRI, p. 72) (Fig. 131). His gaze focuses on the enemy's midsection.

The hand is formed in closed or half-open manners and is used with short movements, a feature which points clearly to Chinese influence. The body-to-elbow distance is always minimized for the protection of the rib areas, and the formed hand is always held very close to the facial area of the operator; this separation distance is measured by a finger span.

Blocking actions are used which employ both ulnar and radial areas of the forearm, but the larger bone area near the wrist, as provided by the radial area, is preferred.

Kicking is styled after the usual kicking tactics of *pentjak-silat* and performed from a preferred upright posture; kicks delivered from the ground-sitting posture (*depok* or *sempok*) are minimized. All parts of the foot are used as contact surfaces and almost always the operator takes a profile position and scrupulously avoids frontal stances (perhaps a Shantung *kuntao* influence).

Sportive outlets for ESSTI are limited to those times when technique evaluations must be made; no spectators are permitted. The small membership (some three thousand exponents) of ESSTI seeks no mass popularity and confines itself to a serious study of combative engagements.

The PERISAI DIRI style of *pentjak-silat* has been transplanted from East Java to Bali. It is currently under the technical direction of a Balinese, M. Swetja of Denpasar, a master teacher (*maha guru*), who imparts vitality and realism to the system. As to be expected, Swetja's Balinese P.D. does not differ from the system on Java. However, some additional comments are in order.

132. Two views of empty-hand techniques in Balinese Perisai Diri *silat*.

Swetja emphasizes the P.D. characteristic of straight-line action and economical application of the operator's body to the stance of the enemy. The operator's platform foot points in the direction of the target. A dependence upon evasive action is also a characteristic of P.D., but when pressed, open-handed blocking and parrying actions are excellent. Speed of delivery of the P.D. exponent's hands can be judged from the fact that top-level experts can land 120 blows in two minutes (stationary dummy target), all with accuracy. This protracted exertive feat is also indicative of physical stamina.

All training is carried out on natural terrain. Beginners are generally restricted to level areas, while the more advanced and experts practice on uneven, rocky, or loose sand-shell coral beaches. Weapons training plays an important role in the development of the expert (Figs. 132–134).

133. Balinese Perisai Diri *silat* form practice with the *arbir* (*above*) and the *toya* (*right*).

Skills in P.D. are visually identified by a wide range of fourteen ranks, utilizing the belt colors white, green, blue, red, yellow, and a half-red half-yellow in order of increasing expertise. The following periods of active training time are usual for the achievement of skills:

white to green—1½ years
green to blue—1½ more years
blue to red—2 more years
red to yellow—3 more years
red and yellow—over 10 years

Swetja calls attention to the fact that P.D. has only nine red-yellow belt experts.

134. Perisai Diri *silat* of Bali: the *tekken* versus an armed assailant (2 views).

135. Balinese Ende.

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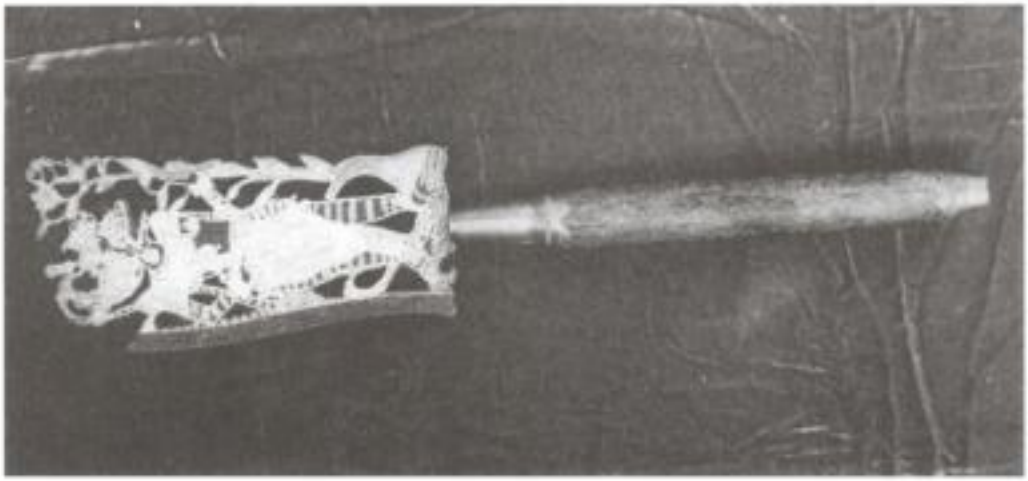
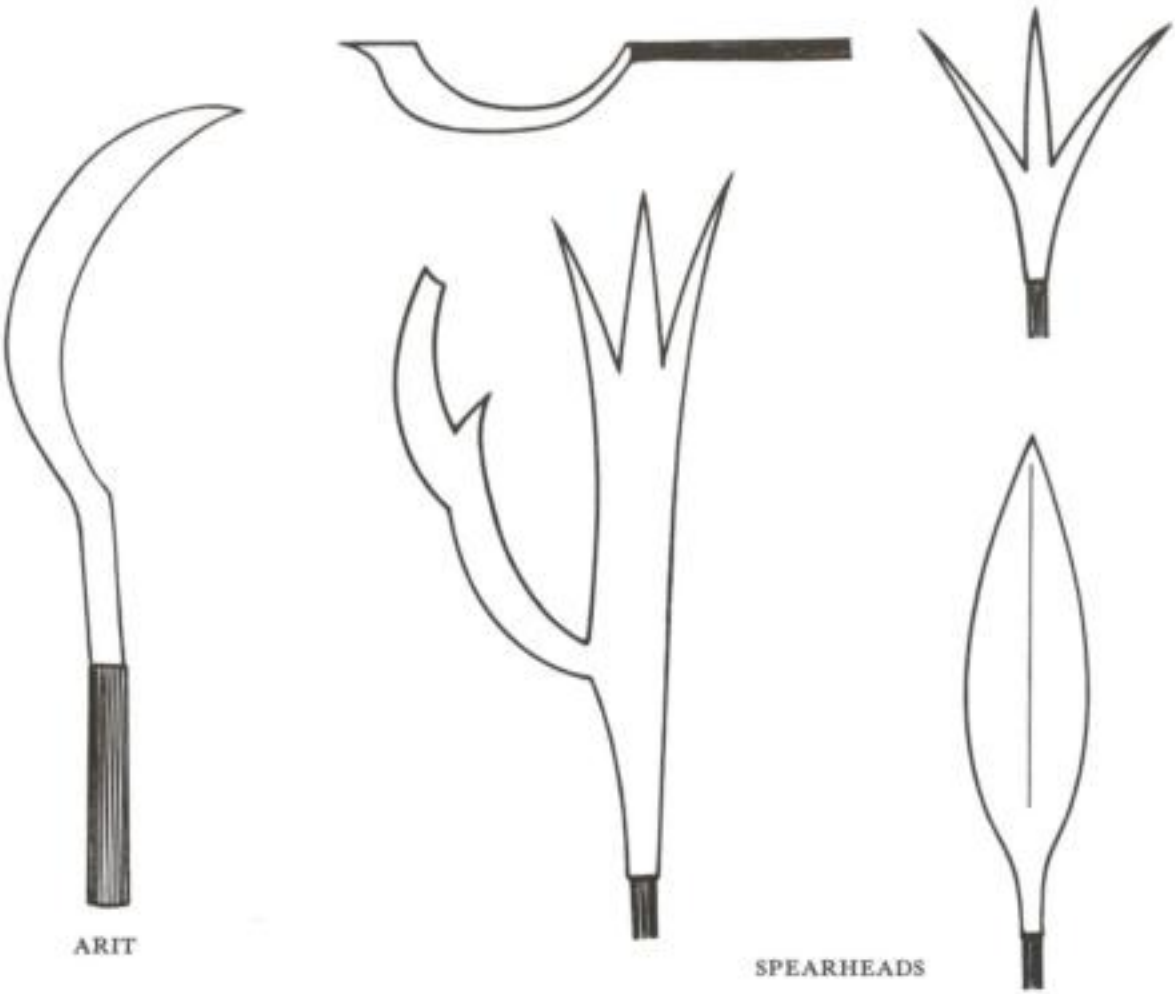


136. A Balinese ceremonial blade.

■ Other Weapons and Systems

Among the fighting systems found on Bali is the ENDE system (Fig. 135). It is centered on an eastern Bali region in the Karang Asam area where it is also known as TENGANAN. If the general theory about the founding of ENDE being an indigenous product of the island of Flores (see Chapter 5, p. 185) is accepted, it is probable that this combative form was transferred to Bali by traders and visiting natives. The form of combat on Bali follows somewhat the same pattern as it does for the neighboring island of Lombok (see p. 192).

The bladed weapon is the most esteemed on Bali (Fig. 137). A great variety of different blades may be found there, some functional as agricultural tools, such as the *arit* (sickle). Others are purely ceremonial (Fig. 136), while still others are made to serve solely as weapons in defense of life and property. Balinese spears are today ceremonial, but there was a time in the medieval past when they were standard weaponry necessary in repelling the aggressive Muslims. Spearheads are of various designs. The Balinese *golok*, a cleaver-type knife, is a wicked-appearing blade that boasts a long combative tradition. Not all bladed weapons are made of metal, however; the Singaraja area in northern Bali makes use of the *pringapus,* or "bamboo knife." It perhaps derived from the metal-bladed knife, the *tadji*. Both are short in overall length and used in stiletto fashion. The favorite method is to thrust the slim blade into the ear of a sleeping enemy. Poison is sometimes applied to the tip of the blade. Whereas the *tadji* can be used to stab into the abdominal region, then palm-of-the-heel thrust to deepen the penetration (Batak-like tactic; see Chapter 3, p. 158), or may be two-handedly criss-crossed while stuck in the enemy's abdomen, the *pringapus* cannot stand the pressure of such actions; it can only be effective if used for one-handed slashing or stabbing tactics.



137. Balinese bladed weapons.

138. A Balinese *kris*-smith (*pande*).

The Balinese *kris* may be seen in forms not too unlike many of the Javanese varieties. Both the *dapur luq* (undulate blade) and the *dapur bener* (straight blade) exist on Bali. All forging is veiled in mysticism and the *pande* (smith) controls this art with secretive jealousy (Fig. 138).

The Balinese *kris* is usually straighter in general blade outline and longer than the Javanese types (Fig. 139). Perhaps the longest *kris* blade on record is that in the private collection of Made Tjandra of Denpasar. The blade measures seventy centimeters, and the weapon has an overall length of four feet, compared to the average Balinese *kris* blade, some forty to fifty centimeters long, with an overall length of sixty-six centimeters. Reported to be almost two hundred years old, this magnificent weapon is the only one of its kind remaining on Bali (Fig. 140).

Occasionally the Balinese *kris* is called a *dawung* (as it is on Java) and is identified by its accentuation of the Kala-head design of its handle. It was designed to be worn in different ways depending upon the purpose. The normal way is on the back of the right shoulder, handle projecting to the right; ceremonial use requires that the *kris* be worn behind the right hip, thrust through the sash, its handle to the right.

Not all Balinese *kris* today are functional. Newly made ones are more for decoration purposes than for combat. Authentic older weapons relegated to family shelves as heirlooms collect dust in the martial vacuum of Bali's modern age. Few good smiths still live and practice the art they once made famous. *Kris* sold by peddlers on Bali's streets are at best bad reproductions and more likely "toys." However, the family *kris* of the Alit family in Sanur reflect the glory of the days of old. These excellent pieces supposedly carry with them "magical properties" which include the ability to rattle in their sheaths at the first sign of approaching danger, and the usual properties that surround a functional *kris*. Their designs are excellent and *pamur* beautiful.

139. Three typical Balinese *kris* patterns.

140. The longest Balinese *kris* blade with sheath.

On the massive and ferocious stone images that abound on Bali can be seen a great variety of strange weapons (Fig. 141). Many of these instruments are not identifiable. Others can be likened to those prevalent today. The importance of these images to a study of Balinese weaponry and methods of employment is undeniably large, but as yet remains to be more fully explored.

141. Two ancient Balinese stone images depicting martial ardor.

Chapter 5

The LESSER SUNDAS

For a wound of death,
let a death wound atone.
—ORESTIA OF AESCHYLUS

■ Pentjak-silat and Kuntao

Both *pentjak-silat* and *kuntao* exist in the Lesser Sundas; however, most of these entities there do not differ greatly from their root forms extant on the islands of Java, the Celebes, and Sumatra.

An extraordinary feature for most *pentjak-silat* is seen in some of the Timorese forms. This is the use of biting tactics when engaged at close quarters with the enemy. Natives on Timor make good use of their unusually large and strong teeth to inflict painful and possibly lethal wounds on their enemy. The neck and throat areas are especially prized as targets. The power of the natives' teeth and jaw muscles is amazing. At Niki-niki (south-central portion of Indonesian Timor), the author's native guide demonstrated his skill by biting chunks from a piece of ordinary softwood planking which was slightly over one inch thick; spitting the pieces gleefully to the ground, he motioned that such treatment would befall his enemy.

Timorese natives perhaps train their biting efficiencies by their daily habit of stripping sugar-cane stalks with their teeth and eating the fibrous lengths.

Aside from this Timorese specialty, both *pentjak-silat* and *kuntao* need no attention here. Rather, it is the combatives endemic to this arc of islands that are more meaningful and worthy of attention.

■ Other Weapons and Systems

The island of Flores lies sandwiched between the Flores Sea on the north and the Savu Sea on the south; it lies as a link in the extension of a chain of islands running eastward from Java. A combative called

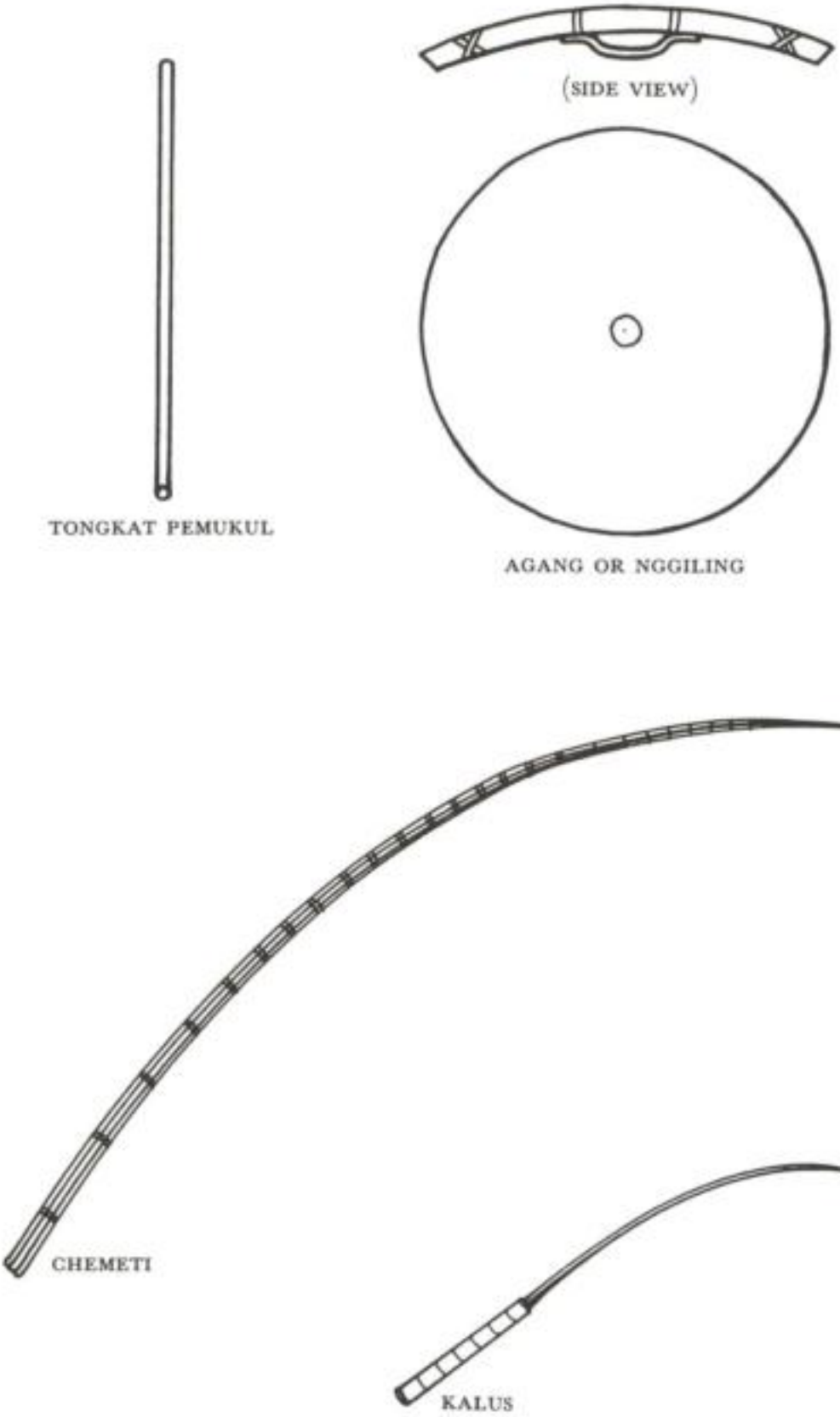
TJATJI (also TJATJING) appears to be indigenous to Flores. Its formal name, MAIN TJATJI, translates approximately to "to do" and "strike the enemy." It is sometimes also called ENDE, the name under which it has been exported to neighboring islands (see Lombok, p. 192; also see Bali, Chapter 4, p. 180). A more complete investigation of this exportation of ENDE and the location of similarly designed fighting arts is needed before any conclusive evidence can be given to indicate the factual home for this combative form.

TJATJI is a realistic fighting art, and there are several manners of performance. One system uses a hardwood stick about one and one-half yards long by two inches in diameter, and a shield made of buffalo hide, elliptical or circular in shape, as the only weapons. Neither the stick nor the shield is decorated. The stick is called a *tongkat pemukul*, the shield *agang* or *nggiling* (if of wood, *prisai kayu*) (Fig. 142). Two combatants take turns attacking and defending alternately,[1] one using the stick, the other the shield. The stick operator attempts to beat the shield bearer into submission with a series of striking tactics as opposed to thrusting. Any portion of the anatomy is a fair target. The shield bearer may attempt disarming the stick wielder. This system of TJATJI is centered on the Manggarai area in west Flores.

In another system the stick is replaced by the *chemeti* or the *kalus*, both whips (Fig. 142). The *chemeti*, a long whip, is most commonly made from the main lengths of palm stems, tied together with strips of buffalo hide or *rotan* (rattan) at intervals along its long axis. As the taper end is reached, more, but smaller-diameter stalks are introduced until the tail portion is narrow but extremely strong and flexible. Sometimes twisted buffalo hide becomes the main element of the *chemeti*. Its usual length is between five and six feet. The *kalus* is a shorter length whip about three feet long which corresponds roughly to the type used in the Ponorogo combative style of East-Central Java (see TJAMBUK, p. 99).

Combatants, two in number, stand naked to the waist. They may choose either the *kalus* or the longer *chemeti* as their offensive weapon. One holds the shield and is expected to accept the attack of the other without recourse to offensive action of any kind. The defender may, however, swing his whip circularly around his head at any pace he chooses; the unwary attacker, too bent on closing with the defender, may thereby suffer injury from the whirling whip tail. The defensive attitude of the shield-bearing combatant is made realistic by the other combatant who vigorously attempts to land his whip. He is permitted three blows, after which he must take up the shield and accept the attacks of the opponent, also permitted three blows (Fig. 143).

1. Not necessarily unique. Certain Australian aboriginal combats permit the alternate attack-defense roles. The relationship between Australian and Indonesian aboriginal combatives remains to be more thoroughly investigated.



142. Tjatji weaponry.

143. Tjatji combatants: defensive position of shield-bearing combatant (*above*), and defender "weathering out" three blows (*right*).

The bouts are made lively by an exchange of clever tactics. The attacker, using his whip, seeks to "fake out" the defender, getting him to lower the shield, away from his face, and then striking a quick blow with the whip. The defender, however, is usually too clever to be caught by such an elementary ruse, and in spite of blows landing on his body, some of which draw blood, he may refuse to lower the shield. He may even turn his back to his opponent and "weather out" the three blows. Combatants are permitted a cloth worn draped over the head and bound by a cord. Only visible lash marks on the facial area are considered points; one such mark determines the winner and all action

then ceases. The winner is then required to sing in a hearty manner while the loser sings in a low voice to show despair. Both of the combatants are cheered on by family and friends. Experienced combatants are heavily scarred on the arms and upper body; all losers have ugly whiplash scars on their face.

The latter-described style of TJATJI is most popular in the west Manggarai area. Dr. Herman Bader, a German, of the seminary at Mataloco, is a historian and expert on the culture of Flores, as is Joseph Kadjang Amerta of Denpasar, Bali, who spent twelve years on Flores. Both recall the heated battles of a decade ago when TJATJI bouts were almost a weekly occurrence. Today, they are less popular and are almost always confined to festivals. Dr. Go Yauw Liem now of Surabaja, Java, recalls championship bouts he witnessed during his twelve-year stay on Flores. In these bouts the victor was he who managed to whip out the other combatant's eye.

A most peculiar boxing style which is a quasicombative exists also on Flores Island. It is called MAIN TINDJU, which means "to do"—"boxing";[2] the lack of an intrinsic native name may indicate that it is a recent addition to the island's combative activities. No known origin for this form has been discovered.

Four persons take part in this amusing and spirited combat. The actual combatants (two) are required to beat each other into submission, using only the hands and arms and shoulders; no kicking or throwing is permitted. Open hand, closed fist, or combinations of both as well as elbows are brought into play. Hooking blows and backhand deliveries require that the closed fist not be used for these actions; only the middle knuckle of the semiclenched fist is permitted as a striking surface.

The peculiarity of MAIN TINDJU stems from the fact that the actual combatants are steered from behind, each by his partner, who firmly clutchs the combatant's waistband (a twisted piece of native *kain* cloth) and maneuvers him, much like a puppeteer or hand-doll manipulator. Shoving, pulling, pushing, and swinging his "weapon" in and out of range, he ensures that the fight does not become static. The whole affair requires a tremendous amount of cooperation and coordination between partners if an effective attack-defense is to be developed and maintained.

Joseph Kadjang Amerta recalls that early bouts permitted each of the combatants to wrap one fist with a cloth, but not before a smooth, round stone had been firmly clenched in the hand. This added weight amounts to more than the roll-of-dimes tactic known to Western thugs. A blow from a stone-laden hand is enough to flatten an opponent, and often serious injuries result. The stone may be wrapped to project from either end of the fist.

2. It is sometimes referred to as BAJAWAH BOX, after the name of the area in which it is most commonly seen (Bajawah). Many natives only know it by the simple English appellation "box."

Points determine victory and are scored, insofar as I could determine, by making solid contact with assigned vital areas on the opponent's body, which in turn vary with the wishes of the combatants. MAIN TINDJU is also most popular during the various festivals held on Flores.

The natives of Flores, as well as those on the small neighboring island of Adonara, have often been dubbed men of the "isle of murderers" by early writers. They were simply practical warriors who merely defended themselves against encroachments on their properties. Their fighting was restricted to the defense of their villages, or in extreme cases, individuals against individuals. The *parang*, a long native knife, was their main weapon (Fig. 144). On Sabu Island, where food is tremendously scarce, the natives are nevertheless energetic, subsisting mainly on a diet of sugar cane. *Chemeti* fighting is their strongest combative.

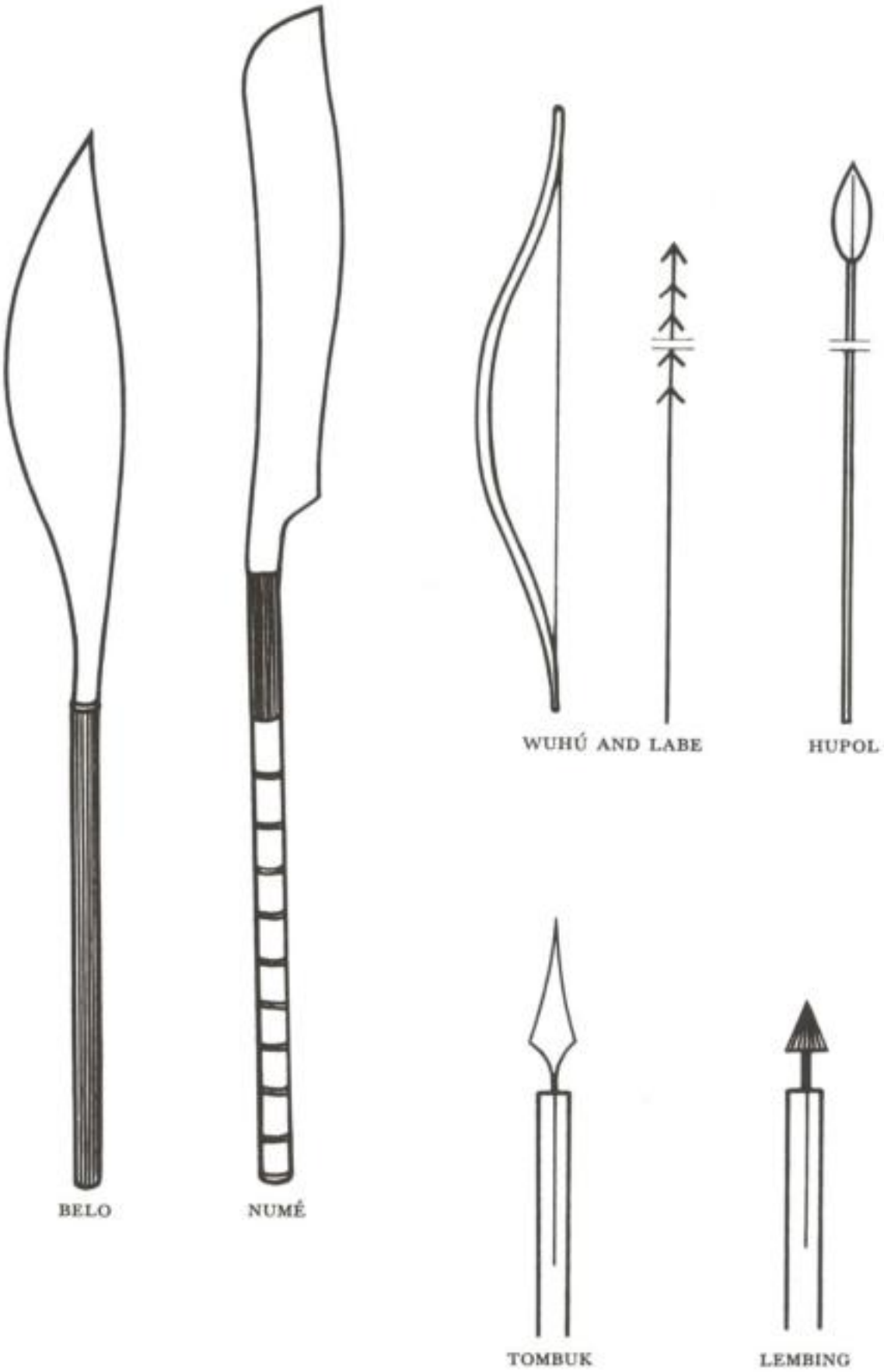
Skills with the *parang* are commonly demonstrated by young Flores schoolboys who wield these "meat cleavers" with vigor. Cuts and scars on their arms attest to their practice fights. The *parang* is also known as the *belo* in times of peace. During wartime it is referred to as a *belo-leong*, which means "war *parang*"; sometimes the name *nume* is attached to the *parang* used for combative purposes. Dimensions for the war *parang* vary with the user's taste, but range from the smallest of overall length of twenty-five inches, to those just short of five feet. Blades are ten to thirty-six inches in length.

The Flores native has always been quite a horseman, and has preserved his riding skills by the test known as *nai-kuda*, implying "to mount and climb a horse"; it is also known as *leti djarang*, or "to ride a horse." This test is the Flores version of broncobusting.

The use of the bow and arrow, the *wuhú* and *labe* as well as the spear, *tombuk* or *lembing*, in different sizes is often combined with good horsemanship to provide effective cavalry deployments for use against invaders (Fig. 144). The *labe* can also be replaced by the arrow form known as *hupol*. It is this latter kind of arrow which is used today by bowmen who keep the combative effect of archery alive by their practice of shooting at targets placed on posts in the ground. In west Flores the spear is referred to as a *korung;* in east Flores the same weapon is called *repan*. Individual lengths range up to about ten feet.

The battle tactics of the Flores islanders did not allow killing of women or children, but males were shown no mercy. Followed by their women, the warriors fought valiantly. The women could be seen gathering the weapons of fallen men while still others recovered the dead bodies and took them back to the villages, there to be propped up outside the appropriate huts as a symbol of courage.

Flores combatives could easily have a strong Chinese influence. Historian van Heekeren (*Bronze Age*) has reported: "Ngada in Flores dates back to the Late Chou style of China," suggesting a cultural exchange or transfer from the Asian continent to this island. The matter is as yet



144. Flores weaponry.

not thoroughly studied (see Chapter 1). Perhaps the best source of this alleged connection, insofar as combatives are concerned, lies with the *pentjak-silat* style characteristics which show great affinities for Chinese *kuntao* movements (Fig. 145).

Lombok lies just east of Bali. On this rather desolate island exists a form of combat called ENDE. The very name, being that of a port city of southern Flores, suggests that the combative form was transferred from Flores to Lombok. Since ENDE is also present on neighboring Bali, the theory of this possible transfer made by traders and visiting natives is strongly grounded.

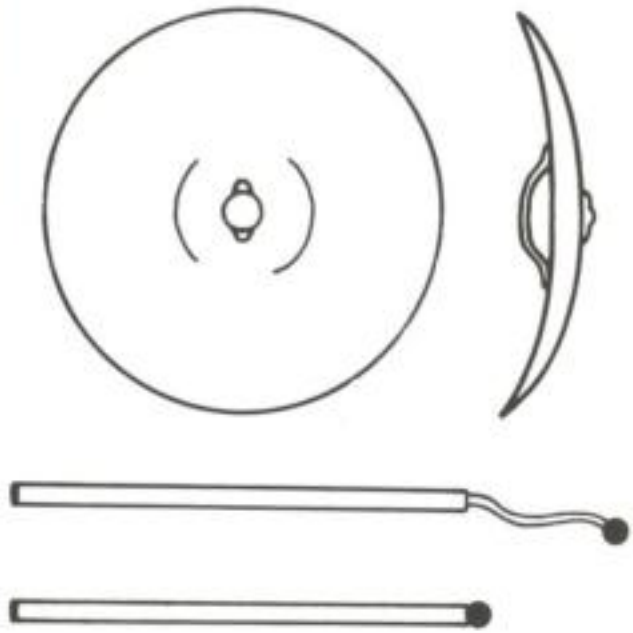
Combatants for ENDE are each armed with a shield called *tameng* and a club known as a *petjut*, which may also be replaced by a whip (Fig. 146). The *petjut* is a weapon consisting of a hardwood handle to which is fastened a short leather thong tipped by a ball of knotted leather. The overall length of this weapon is approximately forty inches. A small metal sphere may be attached to the thong. This produces the most dangerous form of ENDE. The weapon is then like a flail and can inflict some severe injuries when expertly used against an unfortunate opponent. In some instances the metal sphere is attached directly to the shaft, and the weapon is used like a club.

At close quarters the two combatants beat each other's shields alternately, three times, then simultaneously withdraw about six feet apart, a position from which the actual combat begins. The action is intense and any portion of the opponent's anatomy is a fair target and each tries his best to defend himself. The attacks are concentrated against the eyes, and the peculiar characteristic of this fighting method is that little attempt is made to use the shield to protect the body except around the head region. Each combatant willingly takes hard blows to his trunk and legs, but always keeps the shield covering the vital head area. The contest is a bloody affair and is decided by a knockout or resignation of a combatant. There is no time limit.

Still farther eastward from Lombok and lying sandwiched between that island and Flores is the large island of Sumbawa. It is host to the system of SULAT, which translates to mean "fight." This combative is for the alert, active man and is very dangerous. Clad only in short loincloths, combatants optionally carry the shield (*tameng*). One of their hands is wrapped with the flexible pineapple leaf with serrated edges. It may be further bound with cloth to hold the leaf in place. Unlimited free-for-all engagements of short duration ensue with each combatant maneuvering to wound the other. And wounds are frequent but easily closed and healed by native medicines specially prepared and on hand for the occasion. Livid scars on experienced battlers show the accuracy of past opponents faced. Older men substituted a short piece of cloth for the serrated stalk, but their combative spirit lacked nothing (Fig. 147).

The bow and arrow have always been held in high esteem by the fighting men of Sumbawa. However, today, all that remains of what

145. Flores *pentjak-silat* style.



146. The *tameng* (shield) and *petjut* (thonged club) used in Lombok Ende.

147. The Sulat system of Sumbawa.

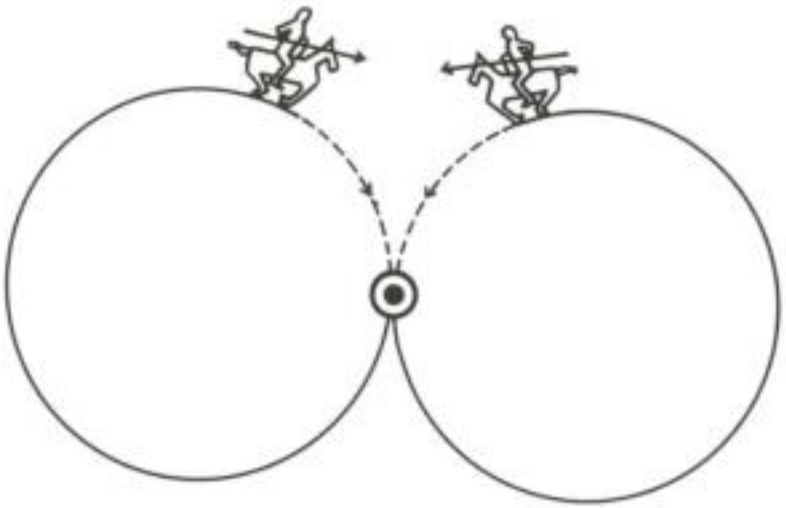
148. Sumbawan archery competition (*right*) with moving target (*above*).

was once combative archery is a test of skill by which two opposing sides composed of an equal number of contestants fire arrows at a target. The target is strung loosely on a high wire or rope, and the impact from the arrows moves the target along the suspension strand. The opposing bowmen fire obliquely at the target and thus do not endanger one another. The target moved to the full length of the suspension constitutes victory (Fig. 148).

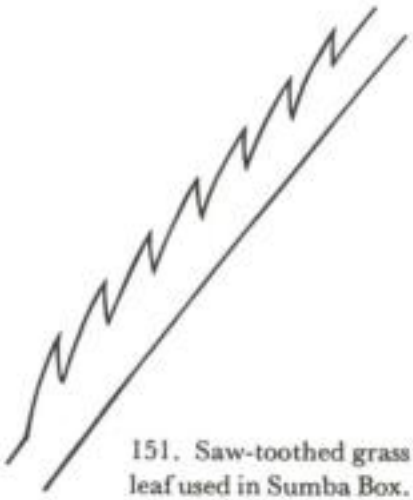
South of Flores lies Sumba, which is also a large island, housing effective combative systems. The Sumban warrior is an excellent horseman (Fig. 149) and much of his fighting technique is applied while mounted; for example, jousting.[3] Armed with long spears, combatants charge along circular runways, tangential to each other, and whenever their courses intersect, they try to land a thrust or knock their opponent from his mount and slam him to the ground with the butt end of the

3. A similar form can be found at Reo on Flores (northwest coast).

149. A Sumba warrior armed for jousting.



150. Jousting on circular tracks in Sumba.



151. Saw-toothed grass leaf used in Sumba Box.

spear in club fashion (Fig. 150). Women are the chief observers and supporters of these combats, each cheering loudly for her favorite. The modern-day spears are fitted with blunted ends, but in days of old, victory was decided by running the enemy through.

Also found on Sumba is SUMBA BOX, a combat between two contestants permitting only fist blows. Prior to combat, each fist of the combatants is carefully wrapped in a wild, saw-toothed grass leaf (Fig. 151); the barbed edges are arranged in various patterns which are expected to not only bring good luck in battle but to produce vicious wounds against the opponent. The combatants are allowed only three engagements for a short period of time each. The blows are directed to employ the saw-toothed edges of the wrappings to lacerate the opponent's facial area and cause him to resign. Swipes across or slightly above the eyes are particularly valued as the blood flowing from such wounds literally blinds the opponent and usually causes his defeat.

152. Ceremonial war dance of Sumba.

The Sumban warrior, unmounted, carriers a *tonda,* or "shield," as a constant companion in battle. He is expected to be skilled in club techniques; such weapons are of all imaginable shapes and usually have their business end imbedded with sawfish and shark teeth (Fig. 153). Some use is made of the *parang* and the bow and arrow. By ceremonial war dances, the Sumban warrior inflates his martial ardor (Fig. 152).

Timorese natives are not specially known for their bravery. They can be counted on to fight in a cowardly fashion, ambush being their forte. These warriors of Timor, the large island lying southeast of Flores and northwest of Darwin, Australia (jointly shared by Indonesia and Portugal), fight from both mounted and unmounted positions.

On foot, Timorese fighting men show favorable disposition toward protective body armor and additionally carry a shield (*tameng*). Dr. Duefendecker describes them:

> Every man was armed with a spear and a long knife, and if he had not a long Tower flint lock over his shoulder, he grasped a bow and a handful of arrows, light shafts made of the tall canes that grow everywhere in the island tipped with poisonous bamboo barbs. Many of them carried besides a buffalo hide shield to ward off the stones which, suddenly engaged, they are in a habit of discharging and with wonderful power and accuracy—at each other.[4]

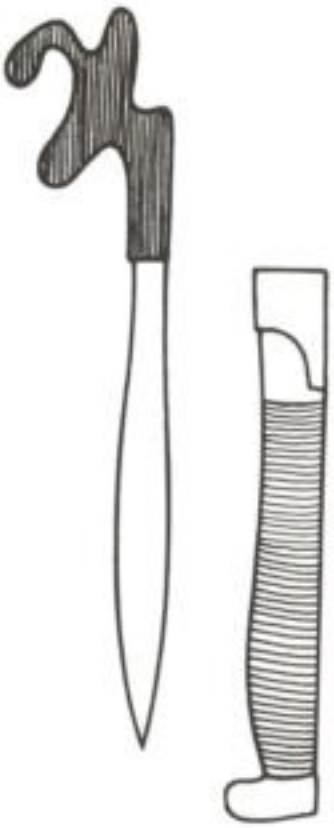
Stone throwing as a functional fighting art has its strongest Indonesian exponents on Timor.

4. Notes on record at the Catholic Mission, Kefamananu, Timor.

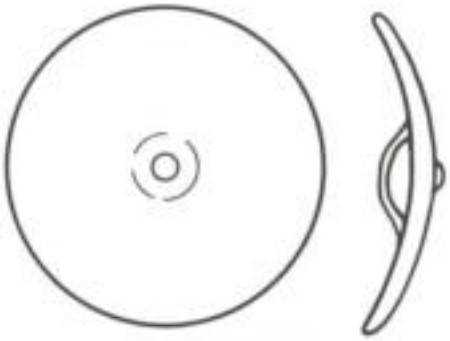
TONDA

CLUBS

153. Weapons of the Sumbawan warrior.



PARANG AND SHEATH



TAMENG

GADA

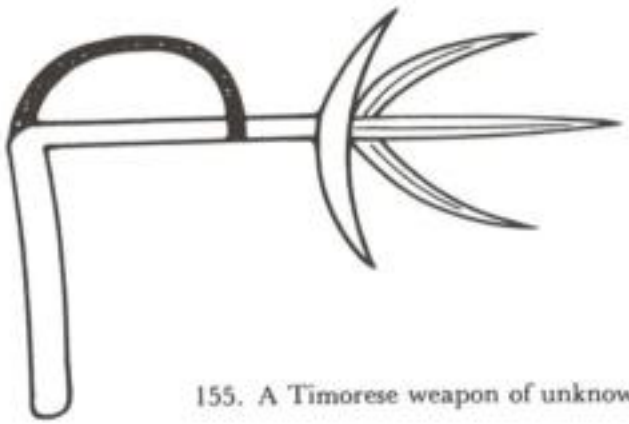
TOMBUK

154. Timorese weaponry.

Mounted warriors fought with their legs tied under their steeds to avoid decapitation, the inevitable consequence of being defeated in battle; wounded, they could not, so tied, slip from the mounted position to the ground, there to be butchered by the enemy.

Timorese warriors are quite fond of their *parang*, a heavy-bladed short sword which sports a uniquely designed and complicated handle (Fig. 154). The average Timorese *parang* ranges between twenty-four and thirty-two inches in overall length. No less popular is the *gada*, a clublike weapon, which is wielded with speed and accuracy. Timorese fighting men are not content to let the club be confined to its simplest design, a bare piece of wood, but generally they lack the desire to imbed sharp-pointed objects in the club heads, such as is the custom on Sumba. Timorese *gada* made good use of stone heads, some of which are ellipsoid-shaped stones bound to the shaft; others are doughnut-shaped polished stones held in place by friction. Still other clubs have the rough sun-dried shark's skin around their business ends. *Tombuk*, or spears, are made for use as projectile weapons; few hand-to-hand fencing tactics are employed, or even understood. Spear length sometimes exceeds ten feet (Fig. 154).

One weapon, a strange-appearing device, has been lost to modern-day natives, both by name and technique (Fig. 155).[5] By its design it may have been used as a device to parry defensively, to thrust and slash offensively, or it may also have served as a ceremonial instrument. At Larantuka will be found excellent *tjabang* techniques among natives who are trained in *pentjak-silat;* a single *tjabang* is sometimes used in conjunction with the shield. Along the southeastern coastal regions some boomerang skills exist, but it is not known if the instrument was ever used in battle.[6]



155. A Timorese weapon of unknown name and use.

5. The weapon currently a part of the Indonesian National Museum in Djakarta bears some resemblance to the *kusarigama* (Isshin *ryu* style) of Japan.

6. This weapon appears not to be a recently transferred one. But its connection with the Australian types is not understood.

Chapter 6

The CELEBES

And the sheen of their spears
was like stars on the sea.

—BYRON

■ Background

The strangely shaped island of the Celebes (Sulewesi) lies directly east of Borneo (Kalimantan). Appearing like some microscopic creature which has taken on macroproportions, the Celebes has long been the hub of an area dedicated to piracy and intertribal warfare; it is these two gruesome activities which provide some of the most interesting aspects of combative forms in the world. From the combative standpoint the peoples most involved in these two activities and most affecting the development and employment of the weapons of the Celebes have been the Bugis, the Makassarese, the Bajau, the Toradja tribes, and the inhabitants of the Minahasa. David Sopher's *Sea Nomads* gives a scholarly description of these peoples and their related cultures.

Piracy, with its ambush of helpless craft and often the murder of the crews, has had a long history in the Indonesian Archipelago. Generally it has followed the trade routes in those areas ranging from Sumatra in the west to the Moluccas in the east. The Celebes has been a convenient focal point for the *bajag*, or "pirates," as the Javanese refer to them. The wild, uninhabited coastal areas of mangrove swamps and rocky inlets provided hideouts for the lawless refugees and outcasts, who lived a phantomlike existence to remain in business.

But piracy, as a phenomenon, is not just an economic function. According to Sopher it requires three conditions: (1) the existence of productive, but defenseless, coastal communities or trade routes; (2) a nomadic way of life based on tribal warfare, headhunting, feuds, and raiding as accepted institutions; and (3) superior striking power of the piratical force combined with elusive speed and some degree of invulnerability or immunity from counteraction at the home base. It is the second and third points which are germane herein, since they can

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be interpreted to include the consideration of weapons, psychologically and physically applied by the necessary ingredients for successful piracy —surprise and terror.

The history of the Bugis and Makassarese cannot properly be shown to begin until the early seventeenth century. Prior to this time, according to tradition, all began with what A. Bastian records as "a ruling class coming from heaven."[1] This legendary period is followed by a period of pseudohistory that places the area of Makassar as a dependency of the Majapahit in the mid-fourteenth century. Islam, introduced into Gowa, the most powerful state of the early Makassarese realm, brought rulers and populace under its sway and Muslim weapons into the Celebes. The Makassarese control extended over the Bugis and spread to Flores, Sumbawa, the Sula Islands, and to the east coast of Borneo. After the destruction of Makassarese power in 1669 by the Dutch, an event made possible by Bugis alliance with the Dutch, the Bugis power grew in Bone, the southwestern area of the country.

The Bugis[2] are outstanding as shipbuilders, sailors, adventurers, and merchants. They have even served as mercenaries for Malayan *rajah*. The early reports of Tomè Pires, Portuguese historian of the early sixteenth century, are questioned by Sopher, insofar as what is being reported as applicable to the Bajuus (Bajaus), is perhaps more relevant to the pre-Muslim Bugis. Pires writes in *Suma Oriental:*

> They are all heathens, robust, great warriors. These men in these islands are greater thieves than any in the world, and they are powerful and have many *prau* [a type of sailing craft]. They sell the slaves they capture. . . . they all wear *krises*. They are well-built men. They go about the world and everyone fears them, because no doubt all the robbers must obey these with good reason. They carry a great deal of poisoned weapons and shoot with them. . . . every other ship in the country they have in their hands.

Such a desolate picture which paints the Bugis as a pirate menace is overexaggerated. Their ability to commit piracy, while common, is by no means their racial trait. Sopher notes in *Sea Nomads:*

> The Bugis had the reputation of colourful adventurers, playing an active part in local wars on the Malayan and Sumatran coasts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and although their commercial activities included the merchandising of slaves, a legitimate activity until the advent of European control, they were to be trusted as men of the strictest honesty.

1. A. Bastian, *Indonesien oder die Inseln des Malayischen Archipel* (Berlin: Ferd. Dummlers Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1885, 5 vols.).

2. Tâu-Wûgi, i.e., the people of Wûgi, as the Bugis refer to themselves.

Both G. W. Earl and T. Forrest corroborate Sopher's opinion and Forrest ventures to opine that the Bugis have a reputation for courage "which certainly surpasses that of all others in the eastern seas. . . ."[3]

Piracy throughout the Indonesian Archipelago, like the crocodile, has been a serious deterrent to the unrestricted movements of man. Lying in concealment along well-traveled shipping lanes, the pirates made skillful use of the protective cover of the coastal habitat. They depended upon ambush tactics for their corsairlike existence. While the Makassarese are relatively exempt from valid accusations to brand them as pirates, it is historically certain that the Bugis cannot be. They suffered too much from Dutch commercial expansion, which in turn led to fomented bitterness and resentment. Raffles (*History of Java*) explains it well, almost as if in justification of their deeds:

> A maritime and commercial people, suddenly deprived of honest employment or the means of respectable subsistence, either sank into apathy and indolence or expended its natural energies in piratical attempts to recover, by force or plunder, what it had been deprived of by policy and fraud.

It is this *force inertiae* piracy that affords the Bugis a most important place in this chapter, the Makassarese somewhat lesser so.

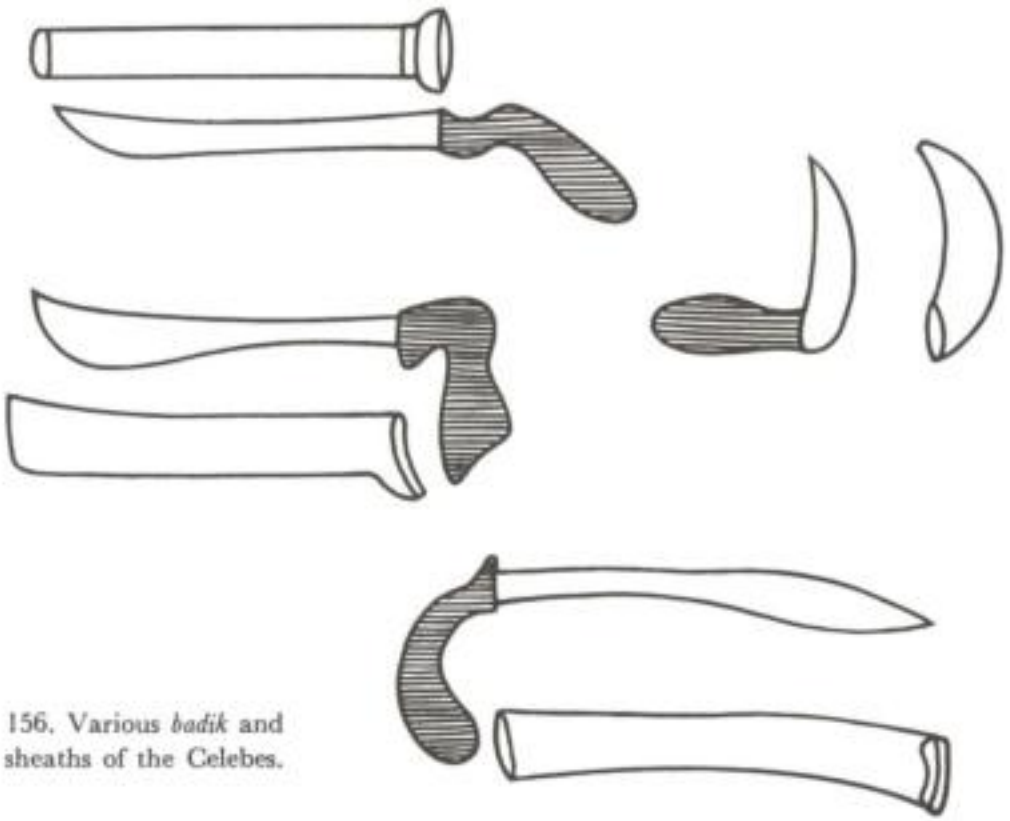
■ Bugis and Makassarese

As seafarers both the Bugis and Makassarese are devoted to the knife. The *badik*,[4] sometimes called the "butterfly knife," so named because of its shape which resembles the insect, is their favorite weapon. It comes in a great variety of shapes and sizes (Fig. 156). Both the Bugis and Makassarese, even in this modern age, daily carry the *badik* concealed in their garments, and are quick to bring it into action. Rarely a day goes by in modern Makassar city that somebody is not cut by the *badik*. The *badik* is worn at their right side, butt end of the handle pointing to the rear; it may also be positioned at their left side providing the butt end of the handle points to the rear. However, when the *badik* is shifted from the right to left side, or when worn at the left, handle reversed—facing forward—it is signatory of impending combat (Fig. 158). Such manipulations are normally made in anger and warn of their mood.

The *badik* almost always is brought into action from the intended victim's side or rear. The draw is made across the operator's body by

3. See Earl's *Eastern Seas, or Voyages and Adventures in the Indian Archipelago* (London: Wm. Hallen and Co., 1837) and Forrest's *Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago* (London, 1792).

4. Also spelled *bade, badi, badit,* and *badek*.



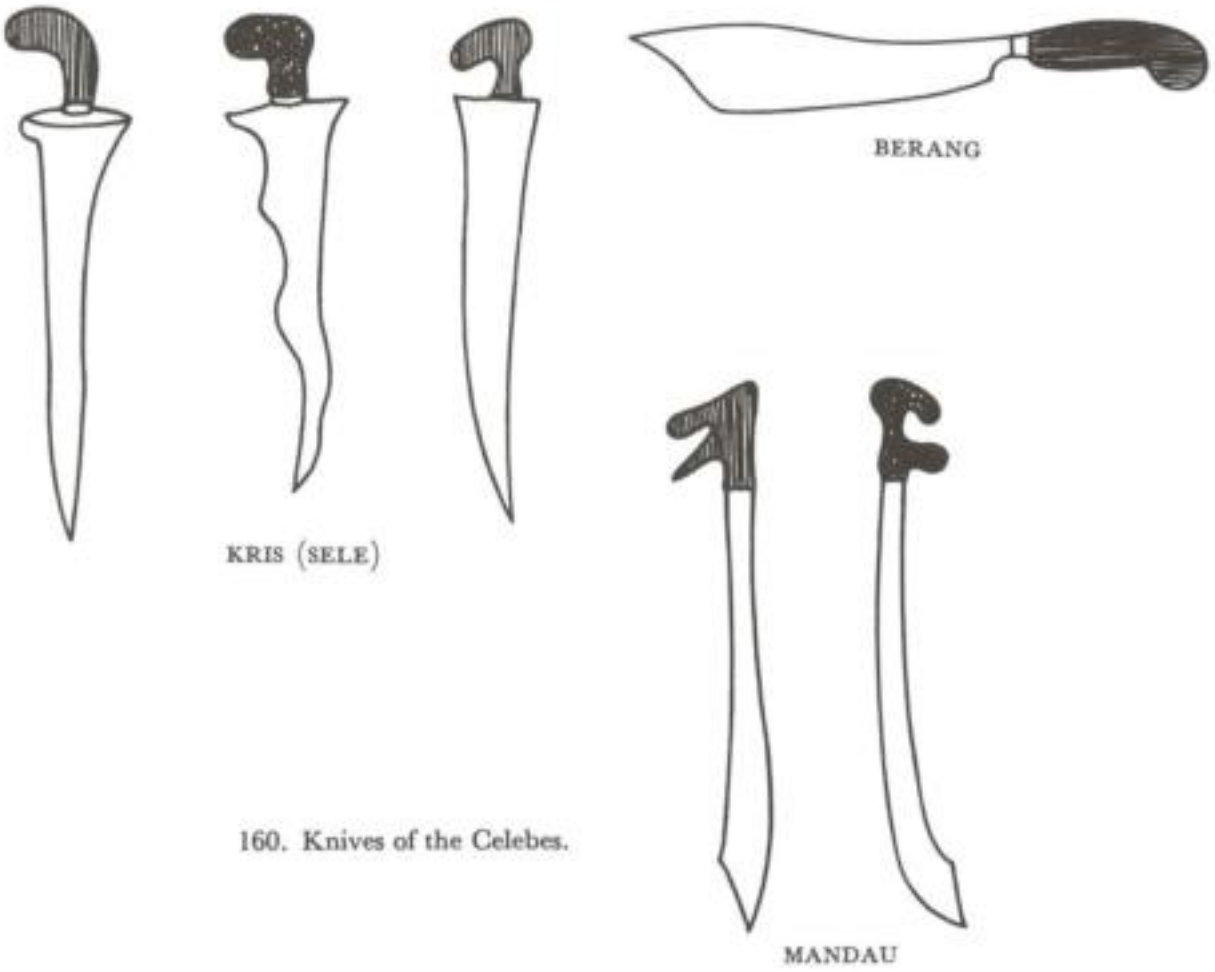
156. Various *badik* and sheaths of the Celebes.

157. Bugis (*left*) and Makassarese *badik (right)*.

slashing from left to right; the blade may be "feathered" (turned over) and another slash made from right to left (Fig. 159), but only if the first one fails to do the job. But it is the thrust which the Bugis and Makassarese rely most heavily upon. There are some peculiarities. The blade of the Bugis *badik* is thinner than that of the Makassarese type (Fig. 157). The laťter therefore must be thrust with its blade flat if lethal penetration is to be achieved in rib areas; other areas of the victim's anatomy do not require this prepositioning, but Makassarese knife fighters generally use flat-blade tactics, and seek full penetration of the blade. The Bugis, on the other hand, pinch grip the blade more often than do the Makassarese, with the fingers just below the place where the handle joins the blade. The thrust may be brought to penetration in a vertical or flat entry, to the depth of the pinch grip. Lethal penetration in selected vital anatomical targets can be surely made with less than three inches of the blade.

158. The *badik* worn in a precombat position.

159. Slashing the *badik* from left to right (*right*), and turning the blade to slash again (*below*).



160. Knives of the Celebes.

J. E. Jasper reported that the "... Buginese consider it a shame when a man dies without having his *kris,* his 'brother' with him."[5] Whether or not Jasper mistook the *badik* for the Celebes *kris* is unimportant, for that mental temperament extends equally to both weapons. The *kris* is more commonly called a *sele* in the Celebes; its sheath is known as a *besi*.[6] A variety of patterns are to be found but nowhere in the abundance of those found on Java. The *parang*, in the Celebes, is, like its Javanese counterpart, a single-edged cleaver instrument and is known as *berang* or even as a *mandau* (Fig. 160).[7]

5. "Het eiland Bawean en aizn bewoners," *Tijdschrift voor het Binnenlandsch Bestuur,* 31 (1906).

6. An interesting but unproven traditional story is told which attempts to explain the naming of the country, and that name's relation with the *kris*. A native, upon being questioned by a Dutchman (in what perhaps was very broken Indonesian) as to what the name of the country was, misunderstood the query by thinking it was asking the name of the weapon he was wearing, and replied, *cele-besi* (*kris* and sheath). This misinformation was quickly transferred by the Dutchman throughout the Dutch colony and became the standard name Sulewesi (Celebes).

7. This terminology, for some scholars, suggests the influence of the Borneo Dayak upon the culture of the Celebes. *Mandau* is the name of the typical Dayak long-bladed knife.

Neither the Bugis nor the Makassarese employ the blowpipe, but R. Kennedy says that they have heard of its use in early times.[8] It was known as the *sapuru* by the earliest settlers of the Makassar area.

Racial prides create differences, and *pentjak-silat* in the Celebes is an outstanding example of this fact. Various special types exist but the Bugis and the Makassarese give evidence of the most systematic approaches. Generally the southwestern Celebes area *pentjak-silat* is called "*silat* Makassar" and includes the KARENA MATJANG style which name implies "to perform like a tiger." This style is related with great affinity to *kuntao* and is directly under Chinese guidance and organization. TAPU *silat* is a highly secret form revealed only to chosen experts in self-defense and specializes in countering rear sneak attacks (common in Makassar). Experts in the TAPU system are reported to be supersensitive and must not be touched from the rear or while asleep as the consequent reactions produced will be disastrous to the one disturbing them. Dr. Hewai (Daeng) is a TAPU expert. His very name implies "balance" and his reactions are skillful and made with unbelievable speed. The MANTJA TONADJA is a southern Celebes *pentjak-silat* system which is based on a 95 to 5 percent ratio of foot-to-hand techniques. It is suspected that it has Menangkabau roots (see Chapter 3, p. 124), for in dealing with weapons it uses the terms *gubu* for the handle of any knife and *sarong* for its sheath, both common words in Menangkabau vocabulary.[9] IPSI (see p. 50), the national Muslim *pentjak-silat* organization, has a branch in Makassar which perpetuates combative traditions for the Bugis and Makassarese.

Weapons used for all Bugis-Makassarese *pentjak-silat* include all the standard types normally associated with the combative form, but the *tjabang*, the *pisau*, and *parang* (*berang*) are used with extraordinary dexterity and skill. Bugis and Makassarese *pentjak-silat* forms take into consideration and give heavy emphasis to the use of their special weapon, the *badik*. Much of the arm and hand movement practiced empty handed can instantly be converted to knife thrust-and-slash actions by simply picking up such a weapon. Snap-thrust action while on the move and turning of the body into a punch which is "screwed into" the target are characteristic of most styles, and, too, are adaptable to the knife. Hands, held open or closed as a fist, are often modified by a pinching action of the fingers which relates to the Bugis (and sometimes the Makassarese) habit of holding the *badik* with a pinch grip. Considerable practice is made with one forearm outer surface in a blocking role while the other arm strikes a blow or delivers a knife to the target; the two motions are simultaneous. Bugis *pentjak-silat* patterns contain less than 15 percent leg actions, and those which are used are more linearly

8. *Bibliography of Indonesian Peoples and Cultures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945).

9. Makassar words are *banoa* and *pangngulu* for sheath and handle respectively.

oriented than circular in nature; simple forward-stepping movement is, of course, exempt, as it is definitely circular. The horse-riding stance employed suggests Chinese influence.

■ Kuntao in Makassar

The fact that Chinese fighting-art tactics have had positive influences upon *pentjak-silat* in the Makassar area has already been alluded to and specific evidences named. One of the best organized *kuntao* systems in Makassar is perhaps a synthesis form. Headed by master teacher Lie Tjien Jan, the product is perhaps largely an extension of Lie's ideas over the course of his more than seventy years. Lie is a visionary who approaches modern-day *kuntao* with a broadmindedness unbecoming to its tradition. The result has been, however, vitality and an ensured continuation of classical combative ideas strung on a network of modern needs. By interjecting his fine personality, Lie wins students.

To begin with, Lie has named his obviously *kuntao* form as a type of *pentjak-silat*. Kebudajaan Ilmu Silat Indonesia is the name of the organization and the fighting form. Little has changed insofar as *kuntao* mechanics and scope are concerned. The system is largely one based on hand and arm tactics; kicking methods are minimal. Kicks are either preparatory to a turn or made immediately after one is completed. Parrying or blocking (minimal) methods bring the defender into positions from which quick ripostes can be launched. The open hand is almost always used to effect the parries; it is also used to catch and cover (Fig. 161a). The blocking hand is usually supported by the free hand. Stances are midline and movements are made from semicrouch positions with feet that are slid over the terrain, lead foot turned slightly inward. The double-weighting principle is used. Turning for evasion is always made in a counterclockwise direction. The usual weapons of *kuntao* are studied, and the long-bladed, single-edged sword (*tao*) is the core weapon. Additionally, the standard weapons of *pentjak-silat* have been mastered. Most skill is demonstrated with the staff (*toya*), the *tjabang* (one tine inverted), and the *parang* (*berang*). The staff is used with little hand sliding; the enemy's shin is the favorite target. A two-bladed terror is found in the technique of using a *parang* in each hand. Fast swinging in circular and elliptical patterns makes the style formidable (b–d).

Tjip Pho Liang Kie is another seventyish *kuntao* master teacher residing in Makassar who teaches a reliable combative form. His system remains unnamed and he has few students because of his rigid adherence to traditional disciplines. Kie takes delight in speaking about the special *kuntao* weapon, the *piau*. In this system it looks like some monstrous metal insect. A thumb-flicking action is added to the normal arm-hand delivery action to increase momentum. The system also makes use of the *hui-tho*, a whiplike device. It is a sharpened metal piece attached

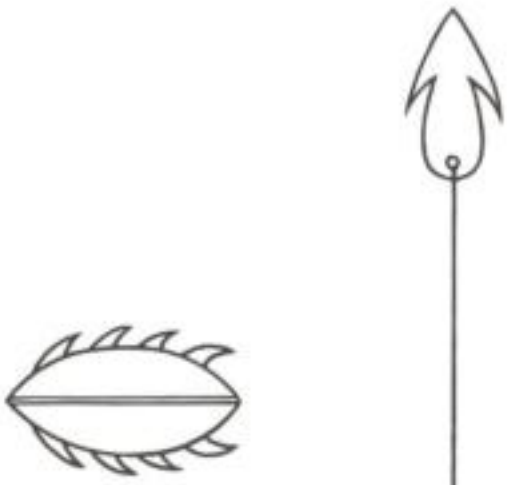
(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

161. Techniques of Ilmu Silat (*kuntao*) of Makassar, using: (a) the open-hand parry, (b) the *tao*, (c) the *tjabang*, and (d) the *parang*.



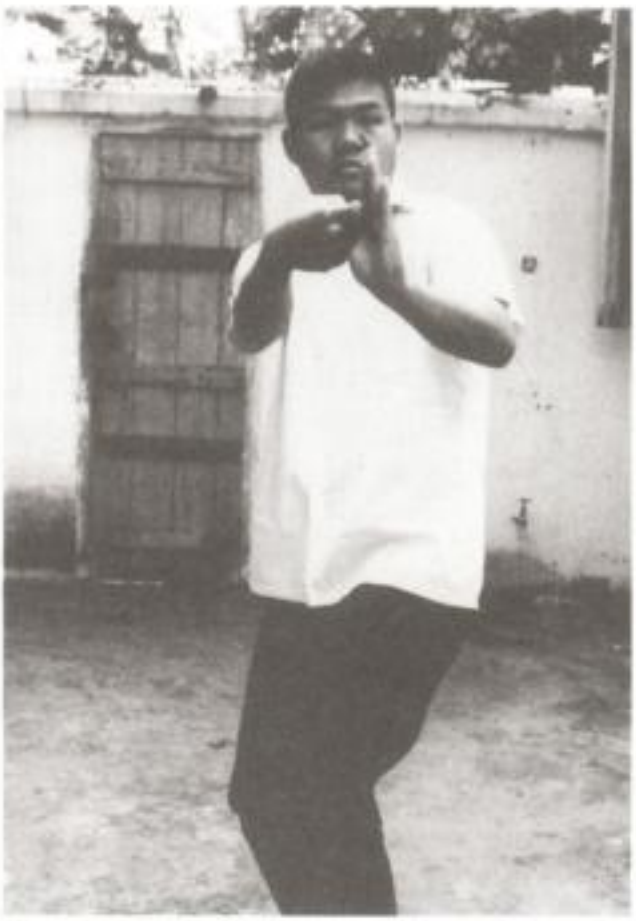
PIAU

HUI-THO

162. Makassar *kuntao* weapons.

to the end of a one-yard cord length. Both of these strange weapons take many years to master (Fig. 162). The *toya,* if of the six-foot length, is held at the center with a narrow grip; if only five feet long, it is gripped at the end with a spaced grip.

Another system, name unknown, lost its founder or leading master teacher without warning. Because of the lack of technical inspiration and guidance, the system lost all of its students but one, Tong Hong Liong. Tong is a youth whose powerful body may well re-establish the almost extinct system. Quite able to demonstrate the effect of the tactics of the style, Tong is enthusiastic over his assumed responsibility. The system is not precisely identifiable, but appears to have its main roots in KHE (Canton) *kuntao.* It features a conglomeration of technical entities, such as straight-line stepping with the lead foot not turned inward, cross-stepping actions with waist-level origins for the punching arm-fist, blocking by applying a raised elbow, assist to the blocking arm, defending middle or low areas, by supporting it with the free hand, and many others (Fig. 163). Kicking tactics are usually of the frontal snap-kick variety, especially made after completion of a pivotal action; the lead arm and hand deliver an open-handed chopping blow simultaneous with the kick. Both open and closed hands are applied.



163. Tong Hong Liong demonstrating straight-line stepping and blocking, waist-level punch, and supporting the blocking arm (3 views).

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■ Bajau

The Bajau of the Celebes are a partly boat-dwelling, partly sedentary shore people. The complexity of their origin, dispersions, and relations to other Bajau in other areas of the Indonesian Archipelago has made for little concerted agreement among scholars. Even their name carries with it a confusing multiplicity of connotations.[10] The Javanese know the Bajau as *wong (orang) kambang*, or "floating or drifting people"; the Bugis speak of them as *waju*, or "men that go in troops," while the Makassarese know them as Turijene, meaning "water people."

By one tradition the origin of the Celebes Bajau is placed in the southwestern peninsula, a possibility substantiated by the fact that the Bajau are almost always found in and around the Bugis and Makassarese settlement areas; the southwestern peninsula has long been the stronghold of the latter. Most of the nomadic boat-dwelling Bajau are found on the remote coast of the eastern Celebes peninsula. There, in that sparsely inhabited and unexplored cul-de-sac, which has in former times been ranged over by restless tribes with headhunting pastimes, the nomadic Bajau have succeeded in plying the offshore waters and, in some cases, in establishing shore camps. Along the Gulf of Bone through the straits of Tioro and Butung, to the island of Wowoni, and into Kendari Bay, as well as northward to the Salabangka Islands and beyond to Tomori Bay, the Bajau boat dwellers congregate. There, in the Kendari Bay area, the focal point of southeastern Celebes trade, Bugis and Makassarese traders would anchor a safe distance offshore and deal with the Bajau. In 1820 the Prince of Bone attempted to establish a colony at Kendari, but the hostility of the inland tribes of Toradja headhunters drove the Bugis out; the sedentary Bajau followed them. Only the nomadic Bajau remained, a fact which speaks well of their defensive abilities and relations with the inland headhunters.

On the northern coastal areas of the Celebes, in addition to Bajau areas near Manado, they live west of Kuandang Bay and on the east shore of Dondo Bay near the settlement of Tolitoli, always in concert with the prosperous Bugis, who control those areas. Their ability to outlast the encroachments of the aggressive Muslim Moluccan princedom of the Halmahera pirates also establishes the fact that they are possessed of a martial spirit, though defensive, nevertheless effective. They, like the Bajau on Bachan in the Moluccas who were the first people to settle on the north coast of the Obi Islands and constantly

10. *Bajuus, Bajus, Baju (Bajoo), Bajo (Badjo), Wajo, Waju (Wadjo)*, are all spellings referring to these people. J. C. Eerde (*De Volken van Nederlandsch Indië*, Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1921) notes that the term Bajau, in the eastern archipelago, is a generic name for harmless fisherman nomads. In the west, on the contrary, John Crawfurd (*History of the Indian Archipelago*, Edinburgh, 1820) implies it is synonymous with the Javanese for "pirate" (*bajag*), and J. G. Riedel (*De sluik-en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1886) reports the word Bajau to mean "pirate" in the Dayak language.

under piratical attack by the raiders out of Tobelo and Galela, or the Bajau on the northeastern coast of Borneo who stood in the face of Sulu Archipelago (Philippine) pirates, are fearless fighters when put to the test.

The reports of timidity, such as that made by J. N. Vosmaer in 1839 who described them as ". . . industrious, frank and honest people . . . the nomadic Bajau are distinguished by their good nature, but also by their great timidity . . . ,"[11] should not be construed as a personal characteristic which implies their inability to fight. Rather it should be seen as it is, an intrinsic part of the conduct of nomadic peoples who are generally shy of other societies because they choose to be so. Like the Tartars in Asia who shift their tents to enjoy perpetual good weather, the boat-dwelling Bajau move their boats to the leeward for the sake of fine weather.

Bajau, chiefly sedentary, are found throughout the Lesser Sundas, those islands east of Lombok which were once under Makassarese rule in the seventeenth century when Gowa was a maritime power. As the Bugis replaced the Makassarese hold in those areas by political and economic dominance, the Bajau remained. On Sumbawa, Flores, and Adonara their small *kampong* may be seen alongside those of the Bugis. There are, however, no Bajau on Sumba and Timor. What roles these highly traveled nomads and sedentary Bajau have played in the transference of weapons and combative systems can only be speculated on and possibly proven by futher investigations.

Among Madurese, who are seafarers without peer, E. F. Jochim learned that the Bajau were highly respected as outstanding swimmers and divers with the ability to dive to great depths.[12] The Madurese insist that the Bajau possess "gills." Bajau children, soon after birth, according to R. Kennedy's *Bibliography,* are chucked into the sea and soon learn to swim like a fish. They are also taught how to handle boats at an early age. Those at Kendari Bay observed by Vosmaer were trained to the water life at an early age and also engaged in daily practice of throwing spears and harpoons in the context of combative "games."

The fish spear and fish harpoon are implements common to all sea nomads. Sopher writes in *Sea Nomads:*

> The use of the fishing spear diminishes in importance on the margins of the Indonesian culture area, within which the lance was formerly the characteristic weapon used in warfare. . . . The particular forms of hunting weapons used by the sea nomads for

11. "Korte beschrijving van het Zuid-Oostelijk Schiereiland von Celebes," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen,* 17 (1839).

12. "Beschrijving van den Sapoedi Archipel," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde,* 36 (1893).

> catching fish as compared to the weapons so used by cultures marginal to the Indonesian area clearly indicate that in this respect the sea nomad trait is one that is characteristic of aboriginal Indonesian culture.

The Bajau specialized in spear (harpoon) implements. Forms of those weapons include the single-pronged spear, both barbed and unbarbed, the trident spear, and the trident harpoon (Fig. 164).[13] The points of these weapons generally curve inward a bit, of which at least two have pronounced barbs on the inner surfaces. Shafts may be of bamboo or *nibong* wood. Points may be wood or iron. When in pursuit of the giant ray (*ikan pari*), the metal spear and harpoon heads are some fifteen inches in length and are commonly employed on long bamboo shafts. The chase and catch of this monstrous ray is filled with considerable danger to the hunters, who know of the painful death caused by the lashing tail and poisonous caudal spine. Sometimes the caudal spine may be used to provide a point for a spear or dagger.

Clearly, the import of the spear and harpoon in sea-nomad life is heightened by the fact that it was the primary device for use on land for hunting and for self-defense. Padtbrugge, speaking of the Bajau, said:

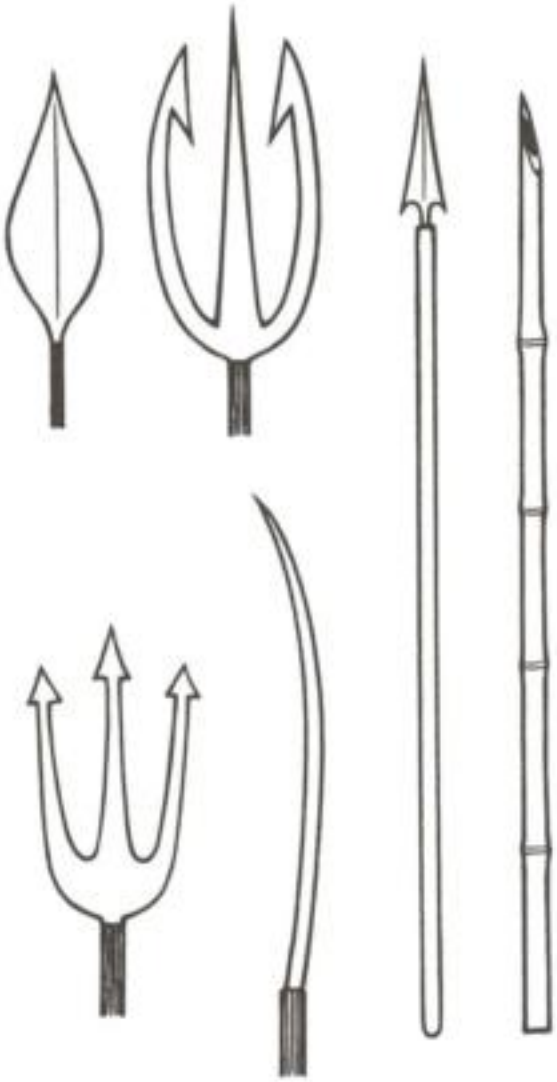
> They were used from of old to have no other weapon but a wooden spear; but necessity has taught them to provide themselves with shield, sword, and lances. Whether engaged in using the simple Malay-like *saligi*, the wooden or bamboo shaft with a sharpened end, or more complex spear-harpoon types, the Bajau demonstrate deadly accuracy and can hardly be seen to miss a shot.[14]

The Bajau are mostly Muslim oriented if of the sedentary type, but are more the "nominal Muslims," in the "Hikayat Abdullah" of the Orang Laut,[15] in that ". . . they do not attend to requirements of religion . . ."; the nomadic Bajau are usually not Muslim directed. On the whole, Vosmaer notes ". . . little violence or thieving . . . among them." They have rarely been involved in piratical activities, lacking the nature, the technological and organizational means by which to become successful pirates. Their occasional forays as pirates have been exaggerated by European writers. For example, F. H. van Verschuer writes that ". . . at one time in the early part of the nineteenth century when the Sultans of Bulungan and Berau on the northeast coast of

13. The multidentate spearhead is less common in Indonesian areas than it is in India, Melanesia, and Polynesia.

14. Notes of 1674.

15. The term is a generic name applied by Malays to the sea nomads or their descendants.



164. Bajau spears (harpoons) and spearheads.

165. The cross-step in Kendari style *silat*.

166. The Bajau *parang* of Kendari style *silat*.

Borneo were in league with Sulu, the Bajau cooperated in the piracies of the Sulu peoples [probably Samals] to such an extent that for the Dutch naval officers the terms Bajau and *bajak* [Javanese for "pirate"] became synonymous."[16] More often than not they themselves were the victims rather than the perpetrators of such acts.

One *pentjak-silat* form in which Bajau participate is the so-called Kendari style centered in the city of that name. It is characterized by its use of cross-legged stances used for rapid turning-evasion (Fig. 165), and economy of displacement. It is a functional system for use in cramped quarters, such as may be found on boats. In addition to the standard weapons of *pentjak-silat,* this Kendari style employs the Bajau *parang* (Fig. 166), and of course, the spear (harpoon).

16. "De Badjo's," *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijke Aardrijkskundig Genootschap,* 7 (1883).

■ Toradja

The Bugis and Makassarese traders had the unfortunate firsthand experience of being victims of the hinterland Toradja groups which made headhunting their pastime. This, plus tribal raids involving neutral parties, such as the Bugis and Makassarese, for many years right down to the present day, has kept foreign or outside encroachments on Toradja lands to a minimum. The origin of the Toradja is as wispy and legendary as are all the traditions surrounding the peoples of the Celebes; their customs and rituals are shrouded in the ancient past.[17]

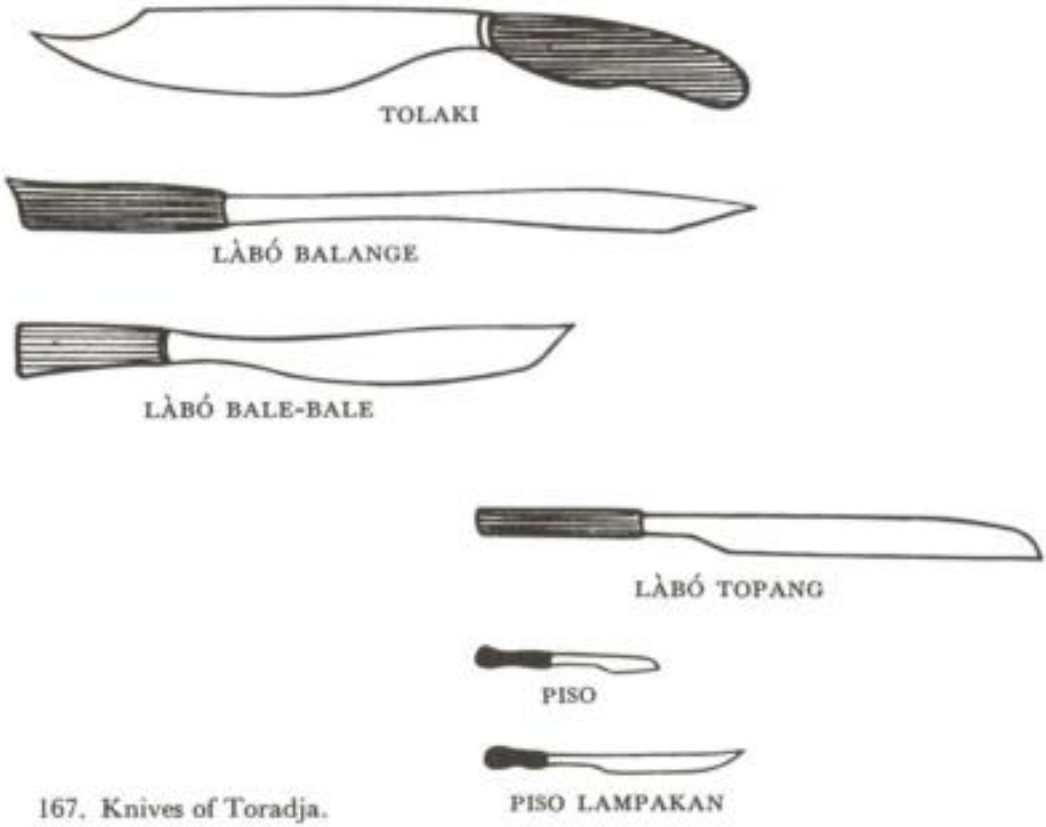
Toradja weapons and fighting techniques have become significant in that they have been deterrents to policies of expansionist control. Prior to such activities of foreign elements, the Toradja fought among themselves and had ample opportunity to develop effective styles. When the Bugis and Makassarese came to the Kendari Bay area in the southeastern peninsular portion of the Celebes, they came to do trade with the nomadic Bajau. There they encountered the warlike Toradja, who in all fairness to that spirit, must have simply been provoked into defensive action against ills, factual or imagined, they saw as concomitants with Bugis and Makassarese intervention. Years later, the Dutch would also feel the combative reality of the Toradja.

Strangely enough, only the nomadic Bajau had successful relations with the Toradja and were apparently well respected by the latter. Padtbrugge, in his notes of 1674, comments about the "unfriendly natives" of eastern tribes of Toradja headhunters, such as the To Loinang on the south shore of Tonini Bay and the neighboring To Wana. Their customs included the colorful ceremony of honoring successful hunters of enemy heads with elaborate headkerchiefs and other ornaments dyed yellow and red with natural dyestuffs.[18] It was the common knowledge by outsiders of this proceeding that discouraged all but the Bajau from occupying Toradja lands. Only the "mobile Bajau" dared to touch upon and have intercourse with the wild tribes. Not all went smoothly, however, for Padtbrugge records that some headhunters did "attack and kill them."

Throughout the large area encompassed by Toradja culture (extending from the midsouthern and western peninsula around the central area that borders the Bay of Bone on the north into the even more inhospitable southeastern peninsula), the knife is a secondary weapon. Nevertheless, it is an important one. The terminology surrounding the identification of blade styles is vast. The Toradja fighting man's long

17. American Dr. Irene Roberts is perhaps the foremost authority on Toradja culture. Among her unpublished notes, gathered in her almost four years stay with these peoples, I saw what is perhaps the most complete collection of legends, and other investigations of Toradja culture, in the world.

18. Similar (perhaps related) practices are found among headhunters and cannibals of northern Halmahera and Philippine Mindanao.



167. Knives of Toradja.

168. The Toradjan *dua lalan*, or "dual use," buffalo knife.

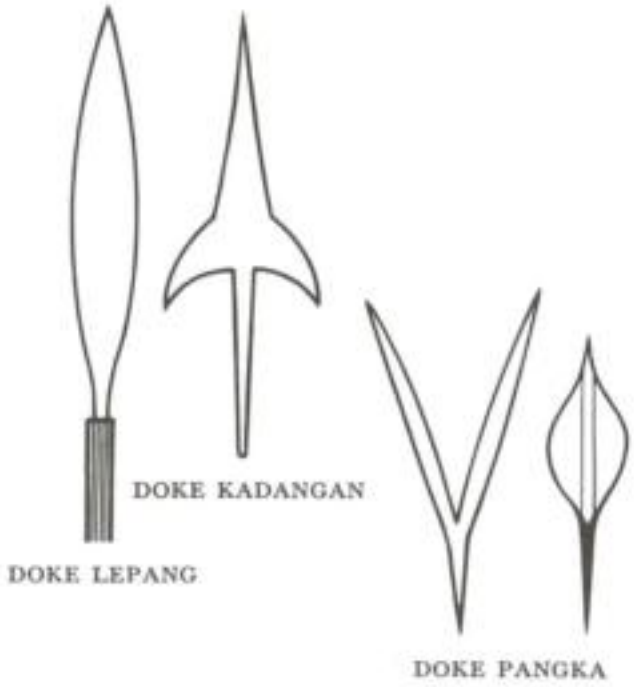
knife is apparently patterned after the *parang*. It is known in the Toradjan language as the *làbó* or sometimes *pade*, but in the Kendari Bay area it is called *tolaki*. Only the *làbó balange* is directly designed for warfare. The *làbó bale-bale* is for butchering slaughtered buffalo, the *làbó topang* for chopping wood, and the *piso*[19] or *piso lampakan*, for food. Yet all can, in times of emergency, be effective weapons (Fig. 167).

The so-called buffalo knife used in killing that animal for ceremonies reveals its battlefield nature by its very name, *dua lalan*, or "dual use"; it serves well against animal or man (Fig. 168). A long sword-type blade called *kĕlewang* (see p. 36)[20] in Indonesian, is known as the *penai* in

19. After the Indonesian *pisau*, which in turn stems from the Chinese *pi-shou*.

20. The *kĕlewang* is common to Irian Barat, Moluccas (Halmahera), and Talaud Island.

169. Toradjan *ublakas* (or *parang upatjara*).



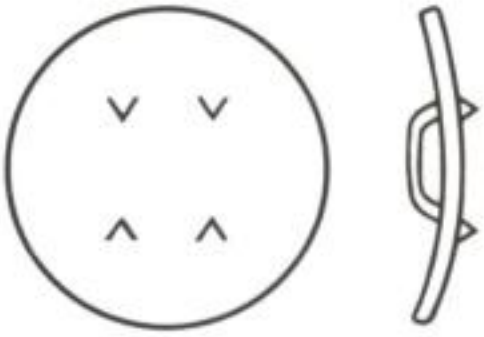
170. Forms of Toradjan spear blades.

Toradjan. The special choppers or heavy meat-cleaver-type knives called *parang upatjara* or *ublakas* are still other blades found useful in battle (Fig. 169).

The spear is the Toradja favorite instrument of death; it occupies a position of importance both in battle and in ceremony. The usual Indonesian term of *tombak* is *doke* in Toradjan. It is a practical weapon, but permits some decoration on the spear shaft which is further adorned with brilliant colors of dyed strips of buffalo hide and feather streamers. The *doke lepang* and the *doke kadangan* are war spears. Another, the *doke pangka,* is purely ceremonial (Fig. 170). In the hands of the redoubtable Toradja warrior, the spear was the weapon by which the enemy was most usually dispatched. Native skills with the spear are little short of marvelous: small animals and even birds can be transfixed at twenty yards; a man at twice that distance.

Carried in the right hand, palm upward, the point of the weapon is held slightly downward (similar to technique on Nias Island; see Chapter 3, p. 163). The spear is given a pretoss impetus by a hopping step, left leg in the air (Fig. 171). The delivery is a one-legged jump onto the platform right foot. The left hand may be occupied with the shield, or *tambeng*. This usually is a highly decorated defensive weapon that can be made offensive for close infighting situations by the metal spikes which protrude from its outer surface (Fig. 172). In its *tambuk* form the narrow ends of the shield serve as battering rams. All shields are designed from wood, leather, or woven *rotan* (rattan) on wooden frames.

171. Toradjan spear technique: the pretoss hopping step, with spear point down.



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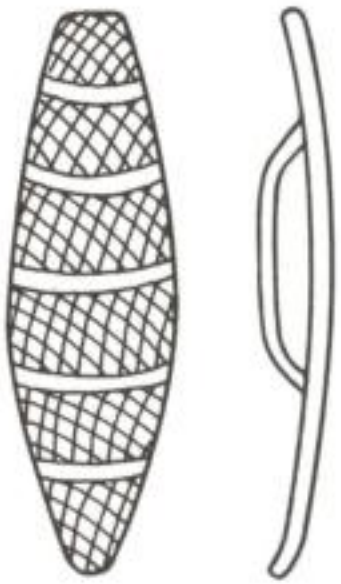


TAMBUK

172. Two types of Toradjan shields.

Blowpipes are generally known in the Indonesian language as *sumpit* or *sumpitan;* in Toradjan they are called *sumpi* (Fig. 173). Like the *sapuru* reported on for the early Makassarese, they are quite short in overall length, ranging from twelve to fifteen inches. Bamboo is the usual material for the blowpipe tube. The sliver-dart projectile was tipped at its butt end with a cone of *banga* fiber (palm) to trap air blown into the tube and to give the needed force to project the dart. The business end of the dart is liberally coated with *ipoh,* or poison;[21] any target up to thirty yards is within range. All Toradja tribes used the blowpipe as an instrument of war as did the Dayaks of Borneo (Javan and Sumatran tribes restrict it to hunting). W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden report that blowpipes used in Malaya were all introductory prototypes made by the Sakai who perfected this weapon. Extended usage of the blowpipe in the archipelago is, to their way of thinking, an imitation of the Sakai technique; the blowpipe as an independently developed weapon of the Celebes is at best improbable.[22]

Also seen in the southern regions of the Celebes in which Toradja reside is the limited use of small bows and arrows and the strangest of all instruments, the *padimpah* (Fig. 174). It is reportedly a lethal warfare weapon. Fashioned of hardwood in boomerang shape, it is different from the Australian type in that its body, which is flat, is terminated in tubular ends. The technique of using the *padimpah* is today unknown.

Pong Tiku (sometimes Pontiku; 1846–1907), martyred hero of Rentapao, made skillful use of eight natural *benteng,* or "forts," in directing the gallant defense of Toradja lands against the Dutch. Born in the Pangalla area near Rentapao, Pong Tiku proved to be a most effective thorn in the side of Dutch interests. He had vowed "never to surrender from the bottom of my feet to the tip of my head" and was the main source of organized underground resistance. Finally captured by the Dutch, Pong Tiku was killed under the pretense that he had broken arrest after being permitted to bathe in jail.

Pong Tiku's standard weapons (Fig. 175) were the spear, the *làbó,* a rifle (Portuguese), and protective armor. His *songkok,* or "helmet," had iron projections in the shape of buffalo horns designed to deflect blows. His shield, the *balulang,* was splendidly decorated. He wore a special *sepu,* or "betel nut pouch," fitted with a metal plate to deflect blows to his groin. His methods of combat were of guerrilla nature. Sudden death pits (dug along trails the enemy grew to have confidence in using for their supply lines) would appear overnight; at their deep bottoms were fixed deadly sharpened stakes of bamboo. The *tirrik lada* ("to pump with *lumbak*") was a special device used to spray irritant red pepper (*lumbak*) into the eyes of the invaders at close range. Toradja officials F. K. Sarungallo, T. Barung Dokì, and T. S: Sarungú, who in

21. Produced by the forest peoples from *Antiaris toxicaria.*

22. *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* (London: Macmillan, 1906).

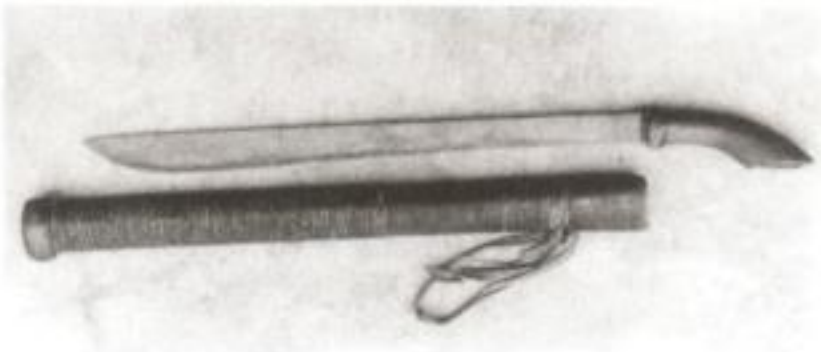
173. The Toradjan *sumpi* (blowpipe) and poisoned dart.

174. The *padimpah*, technique for use unknown today.

(a)

(b)

175. Pong Tiku's weapons: (a) his spear and *songkok* (helmet), (b) rifle, (c) *làbó* (long knife), and (d) *balulang* (shield).



(c)

(d)

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their youth served with Pong Tiku, recall the glory of his exploits and demonstrate the use of their fallen leader's personal weapons.

One of the most unusual quasicombatives in the archipelago exists in the Celebes. Originally native to the Bátan and Pangalla areas, it now centers on Rentapao. Its formal name is SISEMBA but it is occasionally called SEMBA, or SEMPAK. SISEMBA is a composite of two Toradjan words which mean "to do it" and "to kick by foot." In its traditional form it was used as a mass defense which saw all able-bodied men of a *kampong* joined in concerted effort to repel any invasion of their lands or rights. Often it was the means by which inter-*kampong* arguments were settled.

SISEMBA participants include hundreds of young men coupled by hand clasping. Ranks of lines consisting of two or more persons are formed (Fig. 176a, b). Lines and ranks of opposing factions square off at one another in the middle of a level field, usually a rice paddy that has been fully harvested, still soft, muddy, slippery, and treacherously wet, thus making for difficult footing. The object is to form lines and ranks in various combinations of numbers of combatants which maneuver and close with opposing lines and ranks. Tactics include the surprise of numbers against a lesser manned line of defense, but often only equal or near-equal lines combat. The lines take many shapes, such as V-formations, inverted V-formations, wedges, circular arcs (convex and concave), and the like as produced by imaginative thinking. A line once formed must remain a line with combatants clasping hands; normal arm linkage or special cross-handed linkage is also possible. Only the end man of each line has one hand and arm free. Upon coming into range the opposing forces kick at one another in any style they wish, endeavoring to knock out or down their selected targets, thus breaking the line of the opposing force. Once a line is divided it is quickly overwhelmed by the kicking assault of the other line which, by superiority of numbers, can maneuver to surround and defeat the stragglers. Any portion of the anatomy may be kicked as long as the hand grasp is maintained. It takes a great deal of coordination to produce an effective assault (or defense). Injuries are frequent, especially to facial areas. An individual combatant once downed is not allowed to be fallen upon by the opposing side; he may get up, however, and rejoin his own line. This is symbolic, for in early days the fallen foe would be kicked into submission or unconsciousness (Fig. 176c, d).

The smaller lines, such as those composed of three to seven men, are capable of amazing maneuvers. One such is the use of centrifugal force to send the man on either end flying through the air, completely off the ground but still linked to his neighboring partner by a handclasp, in a great arc and crashing into the line of the opposing force. The combatant in the air flails and kicks as he sails into the opponent's line, after which he is jerked back in whiplike fashion to rejoin his teammates.

SISEMBA today is primarily a Toradja harvest-time festivity but the ardor of battle that once flavored it is revived as *kampong* meets *kam-*

(a)

176. Sisemba quasicombative action: ranks of men fight clasping hands(a, b); a fallen foe may rejoin his line (c, d).

(b)

(c)

(d)

pong, and occasionally tempers rise.[23] The event is a long, drawn-out affair lasting several hours each day for weeks on end. Victory in the combative sense was decided in the early days by the reduction in numbers (due to injuries) or the voluntary resignation of the foe. Today's SISEMBA is decided simply by the recognition of superiority of technique which becomes apparent in the course of the fight. No judges are required but the older villagers act in supervisory capacities to see that all runs fairly.

Aside from SISEMBA the Toradja have no grappling or boxing combative form in their culture. No *pentjak-silat* or *kuntao* exists as an organized practice activity here.

■ Minahasa Inhabitants

The precise origin of the Minahasa is clouded by the lack of precise historical evidence concerning their culture. Hetty Palm speculates:

> It is possible that a part of them originate from the northern situated islands. . . . The Sangihe and Talaud Islands form the connection with the latter group [Philippines] of islands. They probably formed the bridge across which the few mammalia entered the Celebes. . . . This is probably also the road which man has taken when he entered the Celebes.[24]

Still earlier reports like those by Padtbrugge in the seventeenth century indicate that the Minahasa was occupied by various tribes whose culture was to be compared with that of the Borneo Dayaks, the Nias, and the Naga of Assam. A modern study of many Minahasan objects of art does little to further knowledge about their origin; they are known to be relatively modern and of little help. Metal or other materials from which prehistoric artifacts may have been made have not yet been discovered, while other forms of materials less resistant to decay naturally are totally absent. Francisco Combés, writing in the seventeenth century, suggests that the Mindanao (Philippine) Lutao tribes of warlike sea nomads had a Ternatan (Moluccan) origin;[25] this thesis is not validated by F. Valentijn and other later sources. But the great similarity that exists between the weapons and combative employments of the southern Mindanao peoples, those on Talaud Island, and the Moluccas, and those of the Minahasa, appears to support Combés.

The fighting art MANZA of Buton Island, which uses a single stick (sometimes sharpened at one or both ends), bears some technical simi-

23. The August 1967 SISEMBA matches in Rentapao saw rival *kampong* friction which necessitated military and police intervention.

24. *Ancient Art of the Minahasa* (Bandung, 1958).

25. *Historia de las islas de Mindanao* (Madrid: W. E. Retana and P. Pastells, 1897).

larities to the use of what is called TABAK in the Philippines (Mactan) and the stick-fighting style found on Haruku Island in the Moluccas (see Chapter 7, p. 235). The Talaud Islanders show a preference for the *kēlewang*, the *tongkat*, or "clublike devices," the *ranjau*, or "poisoned ground stakes," which use *tassen* (poison) of a secret formula, and will require special investigations before positive relations can be stated.

Foreign high-culture influence from Ternate to the Minahasa is undeniable, and Islam was brought to the tribes there by missionaries from Ternate.[26] David Sopher notes in *Sea Nomads:*

> Before the Dutch intensified their control of Ternate, at about the time of these reports [1667], the Ternatans had been politically dominant on the Minahasan Coast, in the Sangihe and Talaud Islands, and at points on the southern Mindanao coast around the Gulf of Davao, as well as in many islands to the south of the Moluccas as far as Solor in the Lesser Sunda arc. The northern Celebes-Moluccas approach to southern Mindanao is an old one in culture-historical terms, which has repeatedly carried culture influences northward. Islam, thus, could have entered Mindanao by this route, as early as its introduction from Borneo via the Sulu Archipelago.

Legend tells of Lumimu'ut, the ancestress of the Minahasa. Born from a stone that had been washed by the sea and shone upon by the sun, Lumimu'ut grew to maturity and was impregnated by the west wind to produce Toar. Not knowing that she was his mother, Toar married Lumimu'ut and they begot many children.

A great many tribes came to inhabit the Minahasa chiefly because of this union. In the northeast, the Tonséas; in the south and southwest, the Tontémboans; in the northwest, the Tombulus; in the southwest, the Tonsawangs; in the south and southeast, the Ratahans, and on the northwest coast, the Bantiks. Their origins can be traced with some degree of accuracy. The Tonsawangs have taken up Mongondous elements, legend stating that they originated from the islands of Maju and Tifore situated between Halmahera and the Celebes. The Bantiks came from Bolaäng; their language is related to the Sangihe-Talaud.

The diversity produced differences precipitated in combative fashion. Legend says that the original Minahasan tribes underwent a division at a big stone, the *Watu rērumēran ne empung*, or the "Stone Throne of the Ancestors." Still another name is spoken by Minahasan inhabitants who know the stone as *Watu pinēwetengan*, or the "Stone Where Division Was Made." The huge boulder may be seen today on the slope of the Tonderukan. Its surface, covered with crude line drawings, may hold

26. Bajau living in the Minahasa have Bugis titles for lesser headmen leaders but use the Moluccan term *jogugu* for the supreme leader.

combative significances. The god of Muntu Untu is said to have made the crude artwork, producing a scratch at "every determination," with his stick. Sticks and clubs are essential weapons of the Minahasan tribes (as they are in almost all Moluccan areas).

Minahasan houses offered protection from hostile attacks. Perched on poles some nine to twelve feet high, many of the houses were additionally built over the surface of lakes. Each house used decorations in the form of hanging strings of *anoa* and *babirusa* jaws.[27] Human heads, trophies of the hunt, hung on roof pieces, but since that custom is now a rarity, the woodcarving representing a human head to be seen situated on each house is symbolic of the old custom; it is sometimes even today ornamented with tufts of human hair and small pieces of human skull.

Various ceremonies punctuated Minahasan lives. After the birth of a male child, the parents were accompanied by a priestess to a watering place where the newborn baby would undergo a specific ritual. Then a sham fight was staged, with the father being made to defend himself with sticks against the "attacks" of villagers. He was ambushed from predetermined spots along his route with sticks and clubs. Taking the child in his arms, the father started from his house to the village square carrying a bundle of sticks under his left armpit. In hot pursuit came the "enemy." On arrival at the square he trotted proudly around the *tumotowa*, all the while throwing sticks at his pursuers. When his supply of sticks was exhausted he retreated, shouting out fierce war cries in defiance. The fight terminated, a pig was killed, the liver inspected by a tribal expert, and the future of the newborn son was evaluated. The ritual was climaxed by a splendid feast. By this process of sham fighting, combative stick techniques were born and the spirit of combat was thought to be instilled in the new son; the boy would grow up to be a strong warrior and defender of his family and village.

J. A. T. Schwartz lists in his Tontemboans dictionary (*Tontemboans-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, Leiden, 1908) a verb for casting a copper staff-knob *ma'sekad*. It is this knob which adorns many of the Minahasan ceremonial stick and staff weapons. Hetty Palm (*Ancient Art*) has reported on the ancient art of Minahasa and has described the "Minahasan Priestly Staff" knob as made of copper or bronze " . . . with a double face mounted on a wooden staff." It is the weapon which Lumimu'ut carried on her descent from Mount Saputan to the plains.

In the colorful feasts which honored warriors,[28] those who were economically able to serve as hosts and who had additionally lived long enough to look back on their attendance at a great number of these events were given, as a token of their position, the *sineka'dan*, which

27. Other megalithic cultures, such as in Flores and of the Sa'dan Toradja, exhibit the same practice.

28. Feasts hosted, as well as attended, increased tribal prestige and gave individuals concerned added status.

Palm describes as " . . . the same wooden staff with the bronze knob in the form of a Janus head." (Hindu influence is absent here. The designs are more akin to Melanesian and Polynesian objects in that both faces are identical.) The meaning of the double and sometimes three-headed knobs is not known but it may have some connection with a genealogical assumption of leadership; it may also be a fertility symbol.

During the feasts the warriors wore brightly colored sashes[29] and a headdress consisting of gaudy feathers from birds of paradise and parrots. The headmen wore large hats topped by hornbill devices. Their symbolic protagonists wore European helmets. A bizarre war dance followed and the warriors were incited to a frenzy by a priestess. The warriors' favorite emblems for these occasions were metal spirals called *turing;* like painting of the body, these decorations were reserved for warriors.

On the *waruga,* the stone urns with a roof-shaped lid, are various carved weapons which tell of past combative ideas. Most common is the stick and staff. One *waruga* made by the Tombulu tribe at Taratara shows the figure of a man holding a sword in his raised right hand and a human head tucked under his left armpit. The sword blade is similar to that of the Talaud warriors.

Minahasan objects existing today are not particularly old. Metal or other objects from prehistoric times have not been found in abundance by excavations. But it is generally known that forging was little understood. Generally, weapons and the methods of using them have been a transplant process, and great similarities are to be seen with Moluccan and Talaud combative weapons and employments.

European contact with Minahasa was established in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese Diego de Magelhaes visited there in 1563; in 1623 Simao d'Abreu visited Manado. European weapons had a tremendous impact, and Palm gives a most informative and accurate description of Minahasan weapons after European influences had taken hold of the northern Celebes. He writes in *Ancient Art:*

> Further all sorts of arms, for war was part of the old cultural pattern. However, they also served as a show, for love of display was also a trait of the old Minahasan civilization. They were in the possession of metal helmets [*pasëki*] and cuirasses of European origin: most of them date back from the 17th century. They were a part of the equipment of the champions. Further there were European swords and other weapons. The Minahasan warrior further possessed a sword, so similar to that of the Sulu Islands that it is not to be distinguished from it. Perhaps this weapon was no fabrication of their own, but it was imported from the above-mentioned islands. The same is probable also of force with the

29. Called *patola* in Minahasan, the word is derived from the Gujarati word *patolu.*

narrow shields of brass, which show a remarkable resemblance with the Ternatan specimens. Of own fabrication were the plaited armors, which are also in use elsewhere in Indonesia. Among these was a helmet, also plaited, and covered with resin to strengthen it. The Minahasan lances were sometimes of ebony, decorated with wood carvings provided with an iron point. These too were more show-pieces than battle arms. Among the most precious pieces of inventory were further Chinese ceramics, bronze gongs and the already mentioned copper or bronze knobs of staffs.

Chapter 7

The MOLUCCAS

Finishing strokes on them I shall hail,
with all the weight of my cudgel.
Out of them guts I shall tear, and
scatter them here, there, everywhere.

—FERDOWSI

■ Background

Known to Westerners as the Spice Islands, the Moluccas (Maluku) as they are properly called, are a large group of islands lying between the Celebes and West New Guinea. The principal individual islands are Halmahera, Tidore, and Ternate in the north; Ceram, Ambon, and Buru in the central portion, and Tanimbar to the south. The center of aboriginal combatives revolves about Ceram, Ambon, and Buru.

Ceram and the central Moluccan areas, according to history,[1] were originally settled by two tribes, the Alune and the Waimale. The Alune perhaps came from Rumasoal-Riring. An agrarian people, they are short of stature, round faced, of slight build, and have straight hair. They clothe themselves in only breechcloths. The Waimale are thought to have come from Honitetu, Ahiolo, and Waraloing. They are tall men with kinky hair, high-bridged noses, and are hunters. Though these two tribes meet often, they are not particularly friendly to each other.

The first ancestor of Ceram, according to Abu Bakar Nahumaruri V of Tulehu, was Pati Ibrahim Rupesi, who arrived from Gilgadjah, Malabar, India. He arrived at Suoku and established his authority. Some time later he built on Ambon the city of Seid.[2] Kaiheua, a priest, was his bodyguard. A man named Sahutian, an adventurer whose hair on his arms was "as hard as thorns," came by raft to the area and Rupesi sent Kaiheua to investigate. The two men made a vow of broth-

1. Professor M. Marisa of Ambon provided the author with Moluccan historical data.

2. According to Rajah Nukuhehe, the current ruler (1968) on Ambon, the word "seid" means *parang*, the heavy-bladed knife so common in Indonesia. The village was so named because the people fought well with the *parang* and carried out their headhunting and cannibalism rituals by use of it.

erhood by thrusting spears into the ground as symbols of their pact.[3] Sahutian was taken to Rupesi, who gave him lodging for the night. A female servant caught the eye of Sahutian and he fell madly in love with her. Kaiheua, however, advised that he forget her and choose instead Rupesi's daughter. The mighty Sahutian had grown in Rupesi's favor, but the coming marriage was conditioned on the fact that Sahutian would first have to slay Baikole, a fearless pirate from Tidore.

Baikole was a legendary warrior who was reported to be able to leap like a bird and to deflect any kind of blow during a fight. Baikole was greatly feared by Rupesi because the former had made it known that he wanted to conquer Seid. Baikole accepted Sahutian's challenge, sending word to Rupesi from Tidore by men "who could walk on water." The battle was to take place on the beach at Nanuiharie.

On the day of the battle Kaiheua stood behind Sahutian and coached him. It opened with flattery (*parumpakan*), as was the custom, to decide who would be the first to initiate attack.[4] It fell to Baikole and he responded with three spear thrusts, only to miss all three because of Sahutian's agility. Sahutian took his turn, missed twice, but for his third attempt changed his tactics. Holding a spear in his left hand, he unsheathed his long knife with his right. Then Sahutian tossed the spear accurately enough to make Baikole dodge—right into the big, sharp knife blade. Baikole was decapitated. His supporters fled into the sea and disappeared. Sahutian married Rupesi's daughter,[5] and Rupesi took Sahutian as a son.

Legend tells of three men and one woman who came from west Ceram to be the first settlers at Mula'a, Ambon. The men were Leimese, Latunama, and Ayutano. The woman was named Siiawani. Leimese was made king of a village at Mula'a. Ayutano became a "*kapitan*" and was called "the four-eyed *kapitan*" because of his use on the back of his head of two pieces of glass out of which rear vision for battlefield use was possible. His exploits in combat were prodigious.

The king of Tiwawai was Mutihu. Ayutano and Mutihu made war in which the latter suffered defeat and great losses; Ayutano had accounted for great numbers of the slain by the use of his mirror devices. Nobody could surprise him. His fame spread throughout the Moluccas and the hardy and brave appeared to contest his skill. *Kapitan* Sitanari Mailoa, accompanied by Loloho, King of Amet, set out to do battle with Ayutano. Loloho sent Sitanari back to camp and proceeded alone. At Hinariri, Loloho found the great Ayutano and they did battle. A

3. Depending upon circumstances and method, this custom can also imply a challenge to a fight to the death.

4. The custom of single-person offensive combat while the opponent takes a purely defensive role is common in Indonesia and also in Australia.

5. The daughter is recorded as named Huahetut (fart odor). Children were always given humiliating names in the belief that evil would not bother them if so named.

stalemate developed, and Ayutano declared that Tartapa would be a more suitable battleground and the pair agreed to suspend the fight until they could walk to the new area. There the fight again lapsed into a stalemate, and both retired.

Loloho gathered a number of *kapitan* and organized them at Woru. He himself went on to Nasaputi, the agreed-on new battle site, to do battle once again with Ayutano. Instructing his warriors that should he not return within two hours, they were to consider him dead, he left. At Nasaputi, Loloho and Ayutano clashed, but still another stalemate developed between these mighty warriors. Both fighters then agreed to return the next day to continue the fight.

Loloho's warriors then held a council of strategy and plotted the tactics by which to defeat Ayutano. They decided he could be overcome by laying the smooth, dry branches of the sago palm on the battlefield, and they prepared the battle site accordingly.[6] The two warriors met as planned the next day. Loloho maneuvered Ayutano onto the sago fronds. As Ayutano slipped and fell, Loloho's long knife struck hard, decapitating Ayutano. Loloho hid his ghastly trophy at Hunruni, but finally under urging by fellow warriors, the head was taken to and displayed at Haumatopeulo (the head-hanging stone). As they buried the fallen "four-eyed *kapitan*," Loloho's warriors chanted:

Hala u tambano	Shoulder spears and shields,
Hale nasa puti o	There the place of war.
Late te merito	The palm branches;
Loho la tua nima lesi o	We have destroyed all his power.

On Ambon the legend of Ua-Rual is still spoken of when combative skill is the subject of discussion. Ua-Rual, from Tihu-lale, was a warrior who is reported to have been born with "two faces," as his very name suggests. Because of this deformity his abilities in battle were fantastic. Ua-Rual planned to conquer all of south Ceram, and at Pelau came up against warriors Matawoku (shark eyes) and Twarihia (from *riki*, "to pull"), both of whom had hypnotic powers by which they could draw people from behind, rooting them in their tracks, merely by stretching out their arms.

Both warriors knew of Ua-Rual's plan and for a week sharpened their long knives, the edges of which became so sharp that a single hair resting on them could be severed simply by blowing upon it. Past combats had shown that Ua-Rual was invulnerable to metal weapons (*kabal*).[7] Spears had failed to penetrate his body. But an old man who

6. A common tree, the sago leaves and branches are treacherously slippery to walk on. This ruse is common to Moluccan legends.

7. American missionary and authority on Moluccan (Ambon and Buru) culture, Joseph Devin, told the author about feats produced by the current Waiapo people who use the long knife in dances. Attempts to cut their own skin result in no wound marks. This said ability is therefore not without some substantiation.

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fashioned a wooden spear (*tupa*) commanded it to kill Ua-Rual. Ua-Rual's swiftness caused the spear to miss, however, and it is said that to this day you can see the clever warrior's hand marks and footprints on Hatu Ua-Rual; a spear hole rests nearby. Ua-Rual was later tricked by the sago-leaf method, and finally dispatched.

The Lano, a wild tribe living in the interior of Ceram, came to Ambon to raid and take slaves. They specially sought out *kapitan* Matatula, another great warrior, for to have combat with him was the greatest singular honor that could befall a warrior. To defeat him would be the ultimate honor, but since many had tried and none had succeeded, the mere fact that one had combat with Matatula would immortalize one. Matatula's victories were all due to the sago ruse. So many were the Lano who came to challenge Matatula that he resorted to mirrors attached to his shield so that he could see behind him. He too was given the name of "the four-eyed *kapitan*." It is said that the dwarf sago palm which flourishes on Ambon was formed by the many futile strokes of long knives aimed at Matatula, which instead had struck the surrounding trees. Matatula is said to have thrust a spear and a long knife into a *kakoya* (*tikar*) tree, the marks of which can be seen today.

Insofar as Europeans are concerned the Moluccas passed from Portuguese hands (they had discovered the Moluccas in 1512)[8] to the Dutch in the seventeenth century, then to the English, only to be returned to the Dutch once again in the first part of the nineteenth century. The resulting martial engagements between Europeans, as well as those between Europeans and Moluccan natives, did nothing to alter the original nature of Moluccan fighting arts and weapons except to exercise them. It is recorded that during the battle of Alaka (1637) between Haruku Island natives and the Portuguese, the latter had given notice to the natives that they would build a fort on the island. The Haruku populace rejected the notice and prepared for war. Portuguese landing parties could not withstand the daily harassment tactics, and the building of the fort was delayed. Portuguese attempts to locate the main body of natives were in vain. They retired to their ship, anchored in the Kailolo Bay area, and perpetrated a ruse. A Haruku fisherman was given a large bag of rice with a small leak in the bag. Thus unknowingly the fisherman led the Portuguese to the gathering place of his tribe. Portuguese guns laid siege to the area. A woman named Moniolatuarinai was in command of the Haruku forces, and ordered bamboo cannons, loaded with rocks, to be fired at the Portuguese ship lying offshore. The ship was damaged but a second came to reinforce the Portuguese invasion. In the face of superior firearms the Haruku natives were defeated, but not before their *ranjau* (sharpened bamboo ground stakes) and logs suspended in the trees over the trails (cut loose to crush all below) had taken a considerable toll of the European invaders.

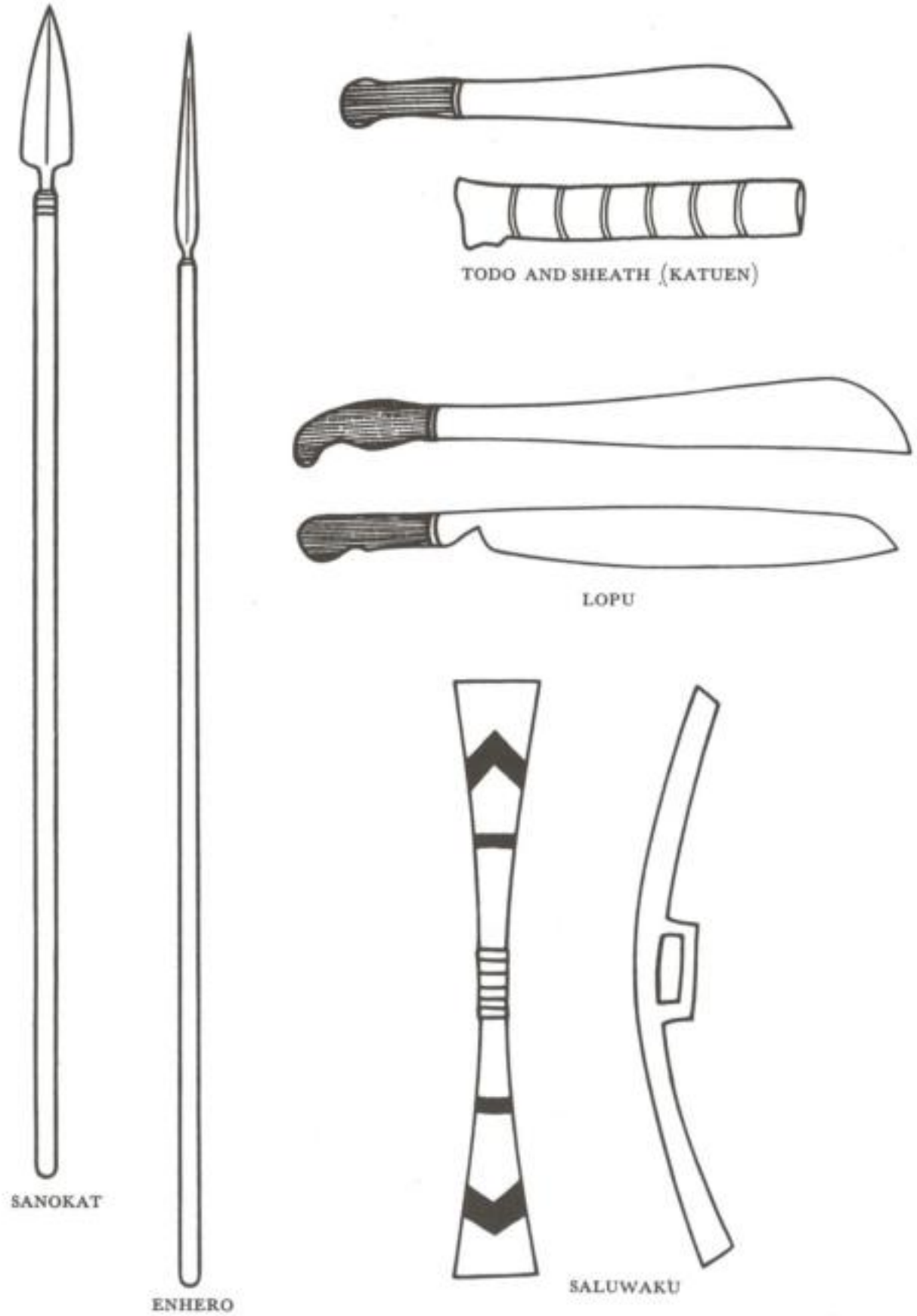
8. Reported by some Moluccan scholars as 1498.

■ Aborigines

King Leimese's famous battle cry: *Oto'o sala taha sala* (Miss when you slash, miss when you thrust) applies equally well to any bladed weapon in the Moluccas, but the good ruler had the spear in mind as he chanted. The spear (*sanokat*) (Fig. 177) is the central weapon of Ceram, where, in the hands of the aboriginal Alefuru, it became the weapon most mentioned in legend. Vows of brotherhood among tribesmen are often sworn on spears thrust into the ground. Legend more often than not records water flowing from spear holes in the ground. The spear is equally respected by the Huaulu people, the wild inhabitants of west-central Ceram. The Tanimbar Island Alefuru are nevertheless skillful as spearsmen. Within their shark-cult society, they who practice feeding sharks while immersed in water with these killers without harm to themselves are some of the most skilled spearsmen in the Moluccas. Metal-tipped and hardwood pointed spears both are used. Buru Island aboriginal Alefuru call the spear *enhero;* they use the shaft (*maen*) for combat as much as they do the point. This strange characteristic stems from the fact that they are far better staff fighters than they are spearsmen. The main bladed weapon of the Buru natives is the *todo;* its sheath is called the *katuen* (Fig. 177).

The Ceramese love of the bladed weapon is extended in their use of the *parang*, which they refer to as *lopu*. It is a specific type weapon which houses a blade somewhat longer than do most Indonesian *parang*. The handle of the *lopu* is particularly good in that it is long and usually has a projection near its butt end to enhance gripping so necessary for powerful slash-swinging. A well-timed cutting action of the *lopu* by an Alefuru bladesman can sever as many as thirty stalks of the banana tree in one swipe. The blade itself sometimes is provided with a notch at a place near where the blade joins the handle; this serves to catch the enemy's blade, deflect it, or trap it. The *lopu* is rarely carried in a sheath. Alefuru aboriginals on Buru Island call the *parang* a *todo* in the northern areas. It is a somewhat shorter-bladed weapon than the *lopu*. Its sheath (*todopenan*) serves as a shield in combat.

Connected intimately with the use of the spear and the long knife is the shield. On Ceram and Ambon it is called *saluwaku*, a term that means "to miss and catch." This is in reference to the action by which a skillful warrior causes his enemy's long knife to miss its intended target and the substitution of the shield to "catch" that blade—having it stick into the wood, there to be trapped. The warrior who has his long knife so caught is considered to have bad technique; it is always fatal. The *saluwaku* is a defensive weapon, but not completely so. It can be applied, after direct blocking, as a weapon to strike by its sharp edges and corners. By its peculiar narrow shape, the *saluwaku* is highly maneuverable. On Buru Island the shield is called the *emuli* and is comparable to the *saluwaku*. Along the southern areas of Buru Island the shield is



177. Ceramese weaponry.

substantially replaced by the use of the sheath of the long knife. It is known as a *katuen* (from *ka* equated to *kau* which means "tree," and *tuen* which means "stump").[9]

The bow and arrow (*panah* and *anak panah*) is common to the interior areas of Ceram, Tanimbar, Buru, and Halmahera, but it does not replace the bladed weapon. Legend tells of King Sinai of Aboru who held an archery contest for his warriors—the target, one of his daughters' breasts.

The fighting staff and stick make important appearances in the Moluccas. The best staff and stick fighters in Indonesia are perhaps found on Buru Island which houses the most distinguished, but little-known form of this type of combat. A system called FITIMAEN exists there among the aboriginal tribes. Two styles are dominant, one endemic to northern regions, the other, to those of the south, Namlea and Leksula respectively.

Perhaps the first white man to witness the stick-fighting skills of the Buru aborigines was Charles Forbes, an Englishman, whose journeys in nineteenth-century Moluccan and other remote Indonesian areas he recorded in *Wanderings of a Naturalist*. Forbes observed and wrote about a

> . . . thick walking stick constantly carried by the natives on their journeys [with these they are adepts at quarter-staff]; I was much amused by seeing two children practicing with singular skill their cuts and guards, quite unconscious of being watched.

He was commenting in reference to aboriginal tribes of the Apu River basin, the village of Gelan in the Wakolo (lakes) district.

Buru Island is considered by some historians to be the starting point of the final dispersion of the autochthones of the archipelago, the bases of the Maori races eastward.[10] The Alefuru aboriginal tribes all carry the fighting staff or sticks but are not as warlike as are the Ceramese Alefuru headhunters. Though they make good spears and knives of metal, Buru Alefuru prefer the fighting staff.

FITIMAEN is a rugged fighting art. Whether or not the wood chosen for the weapon is from the lightweight, but durable *rotan* (rattan) or from some dense hardwood (hundreds of varieties abound on the island), the resulting product is capable of smashing the human body to a pulp when used in correct fashion. Training sessions are usually carefully conducted to minimize injuries, but sometimes in the frenzy of such training, control is lost and injuries occur. Combats are short in duration and lively spirited. They may be fought with either one or two

9. Charles Forbes (*Wanderings of a Naturalist*) perhaps was referring to the *katuen* when he reported Buru Alefuru natives as carrying cudgels called *kau-turin*.

10. Dr. Soeksmono holds such an opinion.

sticks called *maen*. The lengths of the weapons vary with the circumstances and the individual choice of the people using them.

Some use of the blowpipe is made on Tanimbar and Buru islands. On the latter it is called *sumping*.[11] It can be used for battle, though it is more likely to be a hunting weapon. Poisons are applied to the missiles.

The Alefuru aborigines are great lovers of red-colored objects. Preparation for battle includes wearing the red headband, and on Buru Island, the cloth (*ifutin*), which means "wrap around article of cloth," is called the *milolot* when donned. It too signifies combat readiness. An abundance of red-colored wearing apparel intensifies the martial ardor of the Alefuru fighting man and incites him to spill blood. Hinterland tribesmen of Ceram, to this day, are uncivilized and shun modern society. They are defensively hostile. Travel in their mountainous areas is dangerous to the uninvited outsider, who will be set upon with wild dogs, spears, blowpipe missiles, arrows, and *ranjau*. The *ranjau*, the sharpened bamboo stakes planted in the ground along trails, are prepared from a special type of bamboo which is of a poisonous variety (*bulu tui*). This bamboo exudes poisonous sap. Wounds from a weapon fashioned from this wood soon discolor to a bluish tinge and are hard to heal.[12] Puncture wounds are fatal.

It is interesting to note the deep sense of combative reality which prevails among aboriginal tribesmen in the Moluccan areas. No organized systems of grappling or boxing exist; only weapons systems are practiced. Bladed weapons predominate, but there are also projectile types, stick, and staff instruments. The Moluccan warrior need never be without a weapon, for the jungle trails are filled with useful objects.

Kamarian, a village in southwestern Ceram, is the center of combative ardor. Originally called Amalohy (*ama* is "father," *lohy* is "group"), it was located in the mountains away from the coast. Later it was moved to its present coastal location. There can be seen on special occasions the centuries-old TJAKALELE, the male war dance indigenous to the Moluccas. Its origin is obscure but is suggested in legends, though not by name. Hybrid forms are practiced today on Tanimbar, Timor, and in the Celebes.

From the age of sixteen, village boys study and work for three to five years in conjunction with the *kakehan*.[13] Under the rigors of daily training the TJAKALELE is performed.

The TJAKALELE, born of the needs of a successful raiding party which

11. Undoubtedly a phonetic corruption of the standard Indonesian word *sumpit*. This may point to the fact that the blowpipe on Buru Island is perhaps a transferred weapon and of modern usage only. There is no Burunese word for blowpipe.

12. The author suffered the slightest scratch from *bulu tui*. The wound took about ten days to heal.

13. A highly secret, animistic religious form, active today. As a secret society, its workings have never been fully disclosed.

had returned to their village to celebrate, today remains to be only commemorative of earlier days. But its importance within a combative study is great. Alefuru warriors in full costume demonstrate their skills with the full range of aboriginal weaponry. Supported by background rhythm, as produced by drum and gong (*tifa*) and fife (*sulin*), two opposing groups of warriors take the field. After a certain specific introductory ritual, two opposing *kapitan* "duel" with *lopu* (long knife) and *sanokat* (spear). Supporting tribesmen wield long knives and *saluwaku* (Fig. 178).

On the small island of Haruku is found a system of stick fighting which may bear some relationship to the Philippine (Mactan) use of *tabak* (sharpened) sticks. Haruku islanders make use of small sticks sharpened at one or both ends, fire hardened, and apply them as skewers; the sticks may also serve as *ranjau*.

The strangest form of combat in the Moluccas is found on Ambon Island. In the Mamala district will be found a form which can be termed "broom fighting." The *sapulidi*, a well-known Indonesian primitive whisk broom made of palm fibers tied at one end (Fig. 179), is the sole weapon. Masses of combatants fight somewhat analogously to the SISEMBA system of Toradja (see Chapter 6, p. 220), which pits village against village. Tactics involving the *sapulidi* are of a beat-and-flail type, causing superficial lacerations. When wounds are substantial the combat ceases and oils are rubbed into the wounds to promote healing. Jabbing tactics, using the spinelike end of the instrument, can be dangerous to the eyes.

Tanimbar (Timor-Laut Group) Alefuru aboriginal tribes were observed by Forbes (*Wanderings*) in the nineteenth century, to be well armed for battle. He wrote:

> Their arms are a shield, often elaborately carved and adorned with the hair of their enemies, bows and arrows and various forms of iron or copper pointed lances and spears which they can use with marvellous precision, and a long sword carried in a loop in a buffalo-hide corslet to fit beneath the arms made by themselves and resembling a 16th century *cuirass*, of which it is probably a copy. They use also counterfeit Tower guns [made in Singapore], but as they fill them with gunpowder almost to the muzzle they are nothing like the dangerous weapon—except to themselves—that their unerring arrow is.

It is quite obvious from Forbes' description that the Tanimbar natives had acquired quite a bit of European weaponry, albeit some of it not too practical. Their love of display perhaps conditioned the choice to carry what they must have understood to be poor weapons. The mere fact that they did not do away with their aboriginal weapons, the spear, the long knife, and the bow and arrow, would tend to support that idea.

178. Ceramese Alefuru headhunters with *lopu* (long knife) and *sanokat* (spear) perform the Tjakalele war dance (see also facing page).

179. The *sapulidi* used in the Mamala district of Ambon Island.

■ Pentjak-silat

As is the case throughout Indonesia, *pentjak-silat* is supported and practiced largely by Muslims in the Moluccas. From the stronghold of Islam in Halmahera and Ternate in the northern sector to the central Ambonese area, *pentjak-silat* owes its progress in the Moluccas to Muslim exponents. It stands as less developed than its counterpart styles on the islands of Java, Sumatra, Bali, and even the Celebes. There is little tendency to regard *pentjak-silat* as other than a combative art. Though very popular and gathering large groups of advocates, it clearly plays no important part among aboriginal tribes, such as the Alefuru.

The best *pentjak-silat* is seen on the island of Ambon in the village of Batumerah. No formal name has been attached to this system. The present instructing staff, consisting of Radjab Kadas, Idris Kiat, and Moch Djen Nio, further declares that no standardized names exist for the many techniques except in a very general sense where Indonesian words for actions, such as "strike," "slash," "thrust," "kick," and so on, are adequate. Further, there is no special costume for the performance of the art, daily dress being sufficient. Gradings do not exist and practitioners are either students or instructors.

The history of Batumerah village *pentjak-silat* is interesting. Though a product indigenous to the village, it is based on transferred technical roots. Its *pentjak* component is specifically from the Menangkabau area which gave it a distinctly recognizable style; its *silat* component derives from the personal experiences of each of its teachers, and the list is long. From the founder Achmed Shahib, through successors Abdul Latief Tjorra, Panglima Patu Api, Djaksa Ali, Baginda Marra, and Batuk Kamarullah to the present-day trio, has come a great variety of combative experience. The first two brought southern Chinese *kuntao* tactics, as learned in the southern Celebes, to Batumerah *pentjak-silat*. From the Panglima onward, all teachers have derived from Padang (Sumatra) origins.

Batumerah village *pentjak-silat* is a fighting art. This fact could be easily overlooked. When practiced as *pentjak* it is an aesthetic discipline enhanced by drum beats to aid trainees to set a pattern of rhythm. Its *silat*, though rarely used, requires no musical accompaniment. The system specializes in weapons, but, as is traditional with all *pentjak-silat* forms, trainees begin with empty-hand exercises. These follow stances and movements of Sumatran forms, but with enough modifications that show the autogeny of the village teachers. There is less use of *depok* and *sempok* than is characteristic of any Menangkabau system. Rarely do exponents of Batumerah commit themselves to ground positions. Both open- and closed-hand striking methods are employed. Kicking is dependent upon the frontal straight snap-kick, but is used minimally. The Batumerah exponent will concentrate on the enemy's facial area, mak-

180. Husin Karim, the nine-year-old *tjabang* expert in Batumerah village *silat*.

ing hard eye contact; should the enemy turn, the penetrating stare is continued on the back or side of the enemy's head.

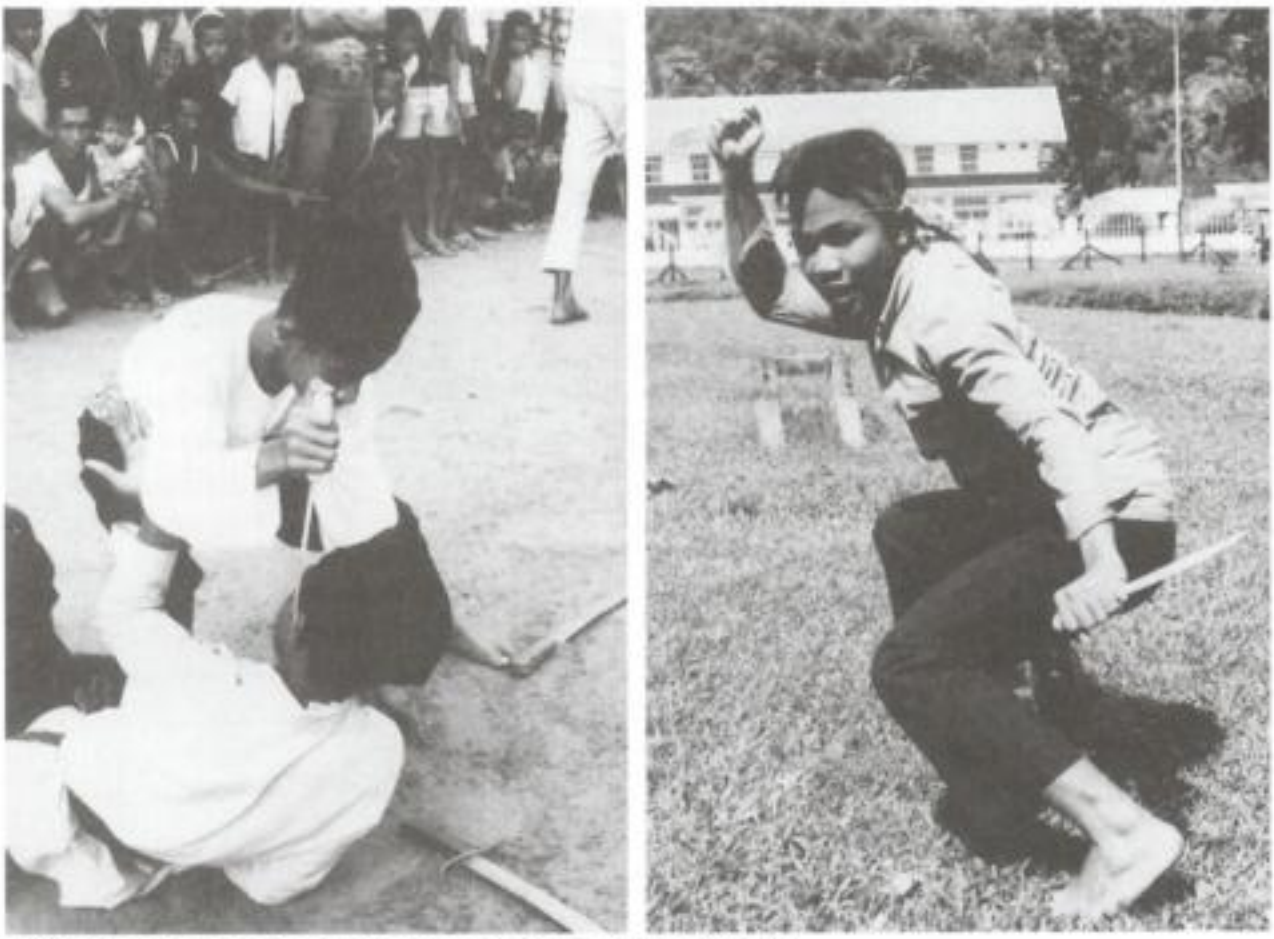
A wide variety of weapons, some indigenous to the Moluccas, is studied. But most specialized are the *tjabang*,[14] and the *pisau*, both standards in *pentjak-silat*. Local area weapons are the *gala*, fighting staff (metal or wood), and the *pedang*, the long-bladed sword. The *tjabang* expert in Batumerah is Husin Karim (Fig. 180), a fact made unusual in that Karim is nine years old. His technique is smoothly rhythmic and effective.[15] He faces armed "enemies" with confidence (Fig. 181). *Pisau* tactics are applied with full combative vigor by the youths of the village (Fig. 182). But the employment of the *pedang* is the special province of the young ladies of Batumerah who daily duel in training sessions scheduled for early mornings (Fig. 183).

On the tiny island of Haruku is found an interesting *pentjak-silat* form. While the mechanics of this form are not vitally different from usual Moluccan styles, there is emphasis on one-legged postures. This posture renders possible a kicking and thumb-in-the-eye gouging attack to be made simultaneously. Haruku land is sandy and the one-footed stances may have some advantages in the ankle-deep sand (Fig. 184).

14. Formally called *bessi tjabang* (iron branch) in Batumerah.

15. In the author's opinion, the technique is the equal of any he has witnessed elsewhere in Indonesia, Okinawa, or Japan.

181. Husin Karim facing an "enemy."



182. Pisau tactics practiced by Batumerah village youths (2 views).

183. The *pedang* used by a young Batumerah woman.

184. Two views of one-legged postures of Haruku island *pentjak-silat*.

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